

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents



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THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by Stanley Aronowitz

Economic holocaust hits the Midwest and the Northeast

Recently, I was asked by a woman who now lives in California but grew up in Youngstown, Ohio, to help explain why the home plant of Youngstown Sheet and Tube was closing down. The shutdown, affecting some 5,000 steelworkers directly, will mean that her home city, once an important steelmaking center, will be virtually "dead." Her family has worked in the mill, and most of her schoolmates are either employed by the steel industry or are married to steelworkers.

The fate of the big Sheet and Tube plant is not unique in the region once known as the Industrial Heartland of America. The *Wall Street Journal* ran a feature story Oct. 3 on the accelerating pace of layoffs in both the steel industry and the other industries directly dependent on it. The steel industry "overhired" in the expectation of a more rapid economic recovery than actually occurred in the past two years. The layoffs are explained as a "normal" result of economic slowdown. There is a worldwide "overproduction" in metals that has hurt copper and steel. Steel is among the most sensitive barometers of general economic activity. As steel goes, so goes manufacturing industry as a whole.

The tire industry is experiencing similar layoffs. Jobs in Akron and other tire centers are very tight. But, as in steel, the reason for the unemployment goes beyond the worldwide recession that has been in process in Europe and is beginning to hit the U.S.

What makes the situation even worse is that major steel, rubber, and machine tool corporations are beginning to close older, less efficient plants entirely. For many workers the layoffs are permanent. When the economic recovery takes place, some workers will be called back in these industries, but in places like the Bethlehem mill in Lackawanna, N.Y., or the Akron tire plants, and many others in western New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, the lives of workers in high paid, basic industries may be over.

For the industrial heartland is undergoing a period of de-industrialization. If the buildings are used again, they will be factory outlet stores, light industry such as garments and plastics. They may very well remain vacant, grim reminders of former years of industrial activity.

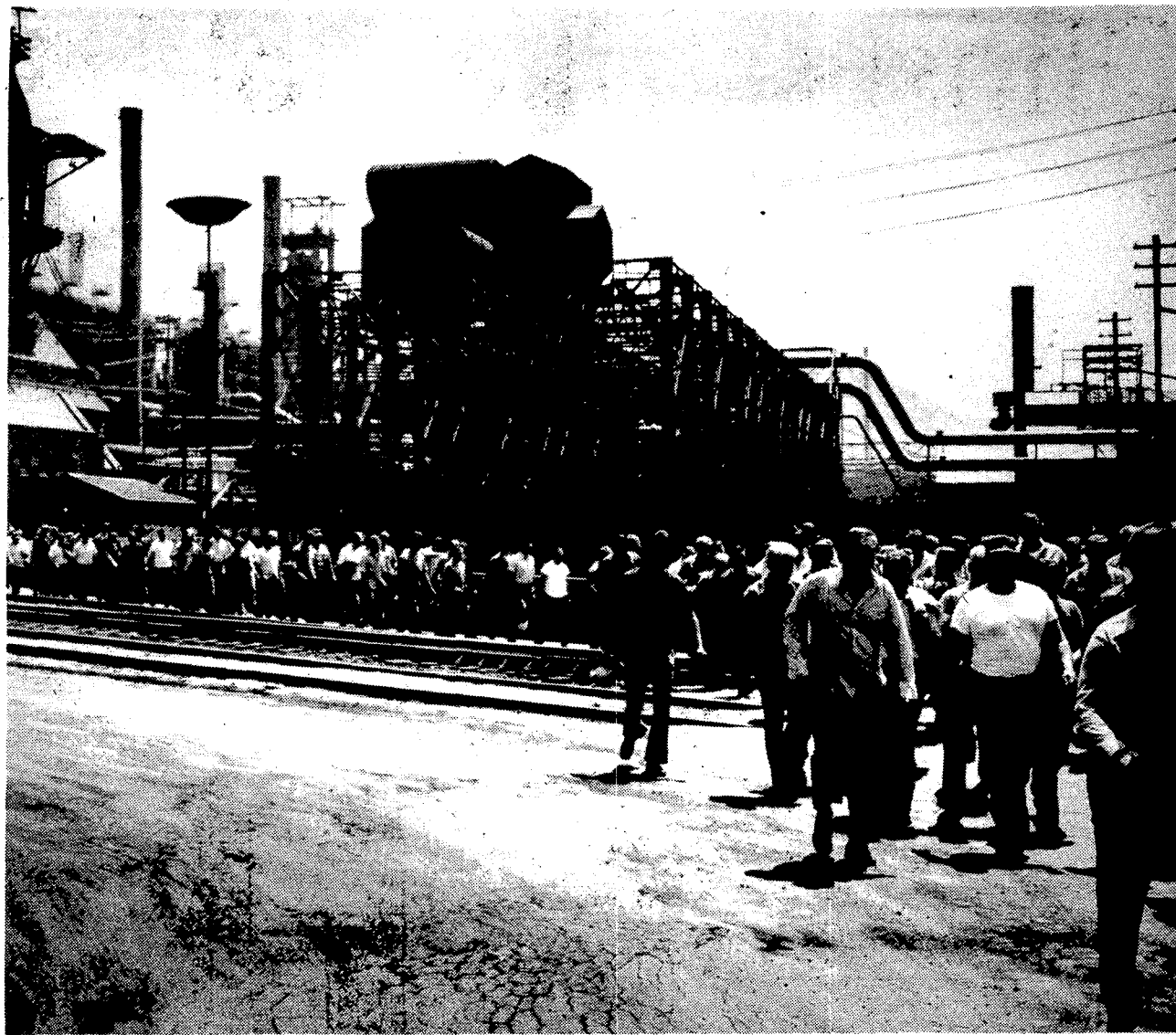
Move south.

Underlying the shutdowns is a new stage in the gradual de-industrialization of the northeast and the midwest. The first stage, completed by 1950, was the migration of the textile and shoe industries from the New England and middle Atlantic states. More than a million workers lost their jobs and the fledgling Textile Workers Union of America and the less dynamic United Shoe Workers were put permanently on the defensive.

The plants moved to the southeastern states, where conservative pro-business governments and local chambers of Commerce guaranteed free utilities and improved transportation and, most important, a "good industrial climate for investment." The last phrase meant that the local police and the national guards, operating on orders from the local power structure, would discourage unions from organizing and workers from joining them. The South offered higher profit rates because it could create a climate for high rates of worker productivity.

In the '50s and '60s the textile industry was joined by garment manufacturers seeking to escape unionization, and by a large number of light electronic and electrical equipment companies. Some of the decentralization of the auto industry from Michigan and Ohio benefited the South as well. By 1970 it became clear that the "New South," a highly industrialized but non-union region, was destined to replace the northeast as the major light and medium manufacturing center.

The third stage is the claims of the southeast and



Johnstown Tribune-Democrat

southwest to heavy industries that constitute the economic base of the society. The financial centers will remain in that little strip of lower Manhattan called Wall Street. But the jobs in the most highly paid industries are going. A demographic shift is underway that will affect whole populations and has already changed the cultural and political life of the country.

Apart from steel, the chemical industries are moving rapidly from their traditional centers in such states as New Jersey and western New York. Since, like the coal industries, large sections of the chemical industry are controlled by the oil giants, new plants are being built in Texas and Oklahoma and older factories in the northeast are shutting down or drastically reducing their operations. According to a recent *Business Week* survey, nearly the whole investment program for the coming decade of the seven major oil corporations is concentrated in these two states.

Musical chairs.

At the same time, another development threatens to change the face of our country's industrial picture. As new plants move south, high technology industries such as electronics and chemicals, garment and textile mills are moving overseas in a wild game of musical chairs. Steel companies, too, faced with stiff competition from foreign producers, are investing their own capital overseas to try to cash in on lower costs.

What it all means is that the U.S. has room only for expansion in high technology industries where labor costs are not a decisive factor in the profit picture. It has no room for new consumer goods production where the amount of labor used is high in proportion to machinery. These plants are destined for Taiwan, Korea, Latin America and the southern mediterranean

countries of Greece and Spain where wages are as much as seven times lower than in the U.S. That's why the J.P. Stevens boycott assumes so much importance now.

In the past decade the U.S. has witnessed a massive phenomenon of the runaway shop. With millions employed in the sales effort, federal, state and local government and in education and health, America is now principally a consumer society with its industrial viability from a world perspective confined to food, energy, and computer and information technologies that are becoming more important in all heavy industry.

What next?

What will happen to the workers laid off, and to the communities hit by the economic holocaust? Twenty-five years ago, New England quietly transformed itself into a secondary war production region and a tourist center. The most important industry in the region was its universities, which provided all kinds of research for America's foreign policy and ideologists for its other schools. Industrial unionism was irreparably crippled by the cutbacks and by the cold war inspired attacks against those who protested almost anything.

We are already witnessing the impact of the deindustrialization in cities like New York, Philadelphia and Detroit where the loss of plants has spelled fiscal crisis and the deterioration of the quality of life for black, Puerto Rican and white in varying degree. The economy is simply not healthy enough to support a vast arms industry and everyday services such as garbage collection and schools without the underpinning of manufacturing industries that are effective on the world market.

Stanley Aronowitz is the author of *False Promises*.

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Ghosts strike Goldwater ranch

Debra Preusch

By Tom Barry
EL MIRAGE, ARIZ.—The large landholdings of Goldmar, Inc., and the Arizona Citrus Company have long been the stronghold of Republican power and anti-labor politics in Arizona's Maricopa County. The irrigated lemon and orange groves, which stretch for miles from the suburbs of Phoenix to the desert mountains, have provided the money base for conservative politicians who have given this state one of the worst farm labor bills in the country, kept it a "right to work" state, and elected conservative representatives like Barry Goldwater to political office.

Monday, Oct. 3, growers here had their previously secure power shaken by an angry group of farmworkers. Two hundred illegal Mexican migrants stopped picking fruit at Goldmar's 3,000-acre Arrowhead Ranches and demanded: a \$3.00 an hour minimum wage, daily payments, latrines in the fields, trash pick-ups at their labor camps, blankets and tents, medical care and running water.

Supporting the striking illegals was the Maricopa County Organizing Project (M-COP), a non-profit group formed earlier this year to get better living and working conditions in the farm country surrounding the tiny town of El Mirage.

Every year for the last 20, migrants have come to the Phoenix area to find piece work in the citrus groves. They come from small mountain villages in the Mexican states of Guerrero, Guanajuato, Queretaro and Nyarit.

Ghosts of the orchards.

Prior to this strike, the presence of the thousands of illegal citrus pickers had been largely ignored by the Phoenix press, covered up by the government and denied by the growers. Their desperate living conditions, low wages and exploitation by agribusiness have remained guarded secrets for two decades.

But this year, encouraged by M-COP organizers, the men local people call the "ghosts of the orchards" broke the silence about their lives and—in what may be a first in American labor history—hundreds of illegal workers went on strike.

Terrified of the Border Patrol (La Migra), victims of unregistered labor contractors who often rob them, and treated unmercifully by their foremen, the Mexican migrants felt they had little to lose by confronting the citrus growers publicly.

During their annual stay of five months the illegals make the citrus trees their home. Never coming out from the cover of the luxuriant fruit trees, the pickers find dubious shelter in makeshift tents of old canvas, plastic and orange crates. Over wood fires the field hands cook their meals of frijoles and tortillas; they live without running water, sanitation facilities and contact with the world outside the trees. At Arrowhead pickers receive 60 cents per bag of citrus, which, despite hard work, means less than \$2.00 an hour.

Border Patrol and sheriff raids.

At Goldmar the striking illegals were hit by a Border Patrol raid Oct. 4, the second day of the strike.

Coming onto the ranch with four cars and an airplane, the Border Patrol picked up 18 of the strikers, including one prominent organizer. Fleeing workers were arrested and sent back to Mexico the same day.

After the Border Patrol came the Maricopa County Sheriff's department, with orders to arrest M-COP members, accused by owner Steve Martori of trespassing on Goldmar property. Deputies also threatened to arrest all the workers involved in the work stoppage on charges of criminal trespass. M-COP organizers Lupe Sanchez and Jesus Romo were arrested and taken to the county jail in downtown Phoenix, 25 miles away.

Temporary end.

The third day of the strike, Oct. 5, M-COP and the workers decided to call a



Prior to this strike, the presence of the thousands of illegal citrus pickers had been largely ignored by the Phoenix press, covered up by the government and denied by the growers. Their desperate living conditions, low wages and exploitation by agribusiness have remained guarded secrets for two decades.

temporary end to the strike.

In a statement made while being arrested at Goldmar that day, Jesus Romo told the deputies: "Goldmar, the Border Patrol and the Sheriff's department are in collusion to harass the workers and the labor organizers, all in a blatant attempt to kill this strike."

The Sheriff's department is denying the workers the right to receive visitors. It is denying them the right to freedom of speech and assembly by interfering and denying them access to visitors from the outside."

"The workers have asked for blankets and bathrooms and what they get is raids," added M-COP organizer Caryl Sanchez.

Lupe Sanchez, a former UFW organizer and town magistrate for El Mirage, also charged that the growers had called in the police to break up the strike and scare the workers. "We have a right to be there. Arrowhead is a labor camp where the workers live. The Goldwaters and the Martoris want us out of there so they can send foremen in to intimidate the workers. The foremen go in at night, wake the men up and tell them Migra will pick them up the next day if they stay off work."

Workers still have rights.

M-COP succeeded in getting a temporary restraining order in federal court Oct. 7 allowing them access to the fields and giving workers the assurance that they could not be evicted from their camps without eviction procedures. In issuing the order U.S. District Court Judge Carl Muecke told the Arrowhead lawyers that the temporary labor camps—no matter how makeshift—were the legal residences of the field hands. Just because growers force their employees to live so

minimally did not mean workers lack constitutional and statutory rights, said the judge. Muecke also said he may ask the FBI to investigate M-COP's charges that the Border Patrol and county deputies were used for strike-breaking purposes.

Armed with the restraining order and backed by the demonstrated unity of the farmworkers, M-COP has gone back to the citrus rows to organize another work stoppage if Goldmar management will not meet their modest demands. Workers in surrounding ranches are also preparing to walk out if similar demands are not met by ranch owners.

Concessions.

By Oct. 9 the Arrowhead growers had begun to make some concessions to the migrant demands, building latrines and collecting trash from the camps. Company foremen had also come around to the scattered labor camps, asking the now-organized workers what all they want. The men asked for a cook house, a refrigerator, and \$1.00 per bag of lemons.

Negotiations are currently underway at several area ranches with a negotiations team of M-COP organizers and a committee of three migrants.

Calling the first work stoppage a success, Lupe Sanchez said, "The Arrowhead work stoppage was only the first of a series of strikes planned for this area. Work stoppages are being planned for other ranches next week, with similar strikes in the onion and lettuce fields later this month."

Located in an office next to the United Farm Workers in the Chicano migrant workers community of El Mirage, M-COP is also organizing a food and clothing drive to support the workers during

the strikes. Without work the men find it hard to pay the jacked-up prices at the convenience and company stores at the ranches, making the food support critical to the success of the organizing efforts.

Hit-and-run operation.

M-COP has only indirect connections with the UFW, which is currently concentrating on strengthening existing labor contracts in California.

UFW field organizer Daniel Morales said the UFW has only one existing contract in Arizona but hopes to win more when eight Teamster contracts expire later this year. He explained that the UFW would be organizing only at Arizona companies that also had farming operations in California.

Morales described the work stoppages by the illegal citrus workers as a "hit-and-run" operation and was not optimistic that unions could be formed by the illegal workers. He is optimistic, however, that M-COP and the workers can succeed in raising wages and bettering conditions at the camps. He said conditions at the citrus orchards were the worst he has seen in the country and that if wages were increased for the illegals, all the farmworkers in Maricopa County will benefit.

In another development U.S. Attorney Michael Hawkins said that he would not prosecute growers for harboring aliens simply because they improved living conditions at the camps, something the growers had told M-COP they were worried about.

You can always fight.

Summing up the experience of their first week's efforts, Anastasio Tello said, "The Mexican people are among the most

Continued on page 4.

LABOR

Labor law reform wins big in House

By Dan Marschall

Organized labor reversed its legislative losing streak Oct. 6 when the House of Representatives approved its proposals to significantly reform the nation's labor laws. Key provisions of the bill, cleared by a 257-163 margin, remained intact, despite concerted efforts by business groups and Republican congressmen to delete them.

The victory followed intensive lobbying efforts by organized labor, including a grass-roots mail campaign, and is the first concrete achievement of labor's newly-formulated strategy of building coalitions with women's, minority, environmental, religious and consumer organizations.

Passage of the bill, which assists unions in organizing workers by speeding procedures of the National Labor Relations Board and punishing recalcitrant employers, is said to bolster labor's developing left wing—those young unionists and international officials who advocate greater attention to organizing and allying with non-labor constituencies.

The Senate has held preliminary hearings on similar legislation but is not expected to vote on it until February 1978.

Drawing the line.

"Labor was very successful in creating the impression that this bill was really important," comments a congressional staffer. The AFL-CIO reportedly put out the word that any Congress person who voted against it would not receive AFL-CIO funds in primary battles next year.

"We drew the line on this one," says Don Stillman, United Auto Workers public relations director. "This was an issue that no matter how Congressmen voted on other bills, no matter how many gold stars they had received from the AFL-CIO, that if they weren't with us on this issue, we wouldn't be with them next November."

Support from the Carter administration, obtained after extensive negotiations with AFL-CIO representatives, also enhanced the bill's prospects. Removed were several especially controversial provisions—including the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and a section that would allow union certification, without a ballot election, if 55 percent of the workers in a bargaining unit signed cards—that business intended to stress in order to kill the entire measure.

"The ability to move it quickly prevented them from getting up a full head of steam. We clearly had the initiative," explains the congressional staffer. Opponents had a relatively short time—about three months—to lobby against a complex bill. They also failed to paint it as legislation that would benefit only the narrow interests of the "union bosses," a successful tactic in their defeat of common situs picketing last March. Its broad base of support gave new representatives, who have voted down other labor proposals, more leeway to approve this package.

Illegals

Continued from page 3.

humble and easy going people in the world, but once they realize that something must be done, they will do it even if it means death. Nothing will get in their way; the Mexican people are very brave.

"They ask me why I would want to fight this company and perhaps lose my job forever. I said that my job was not important to me: the truth is more important than any other thing. We are not doing this for ourselves but for those who come after us.

"Some of the other workers have told me: 'I can't fight, this is not my country,

Business division, labor lobbying.

In addition some sectors of the "business community" were reportedly reluctant to strongly oppose the bill. While the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce fought it from the beginning, the highly influential Business Roundtable remained neutral until mid-September.

This delay was partially the result of labor's emphasis that the bill would hurt only employers who used illegal tactics to keep unions out. The business groups who opposed it thus placed themselves in the same camp as firms like the J.P. Stevens Company, the Southern textile company that has viciously fought unionization for over 20 years.

The new labor law will aid organizing in the South.

Labor's coalition strategy with women's and civil rights groups was key to victory.

Though an ineffective business campaign was one reason for the bill's adoption, the primary factor was the sophisticated lobbying and promotional work of organized labor. They won the backing of 25 prominent environmentalists along with groups like the National Organization for Women, Ralph Nader's Congress Watch, the NAACP, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The contours of the campaign took shape after the situs picketing debacle. AFL-CIO president George Meany instructed his aides on the necessity to build the broadest possible coalitions in support of their legislative goals, an approach that had been advocated by labor leaders such as UAW president Doug Fraser and Machinists' head William Winpisinger, among others.

This strategy became evident in the formation of the Coalition for a Fair Minimum Wage and in organizing for Full Employment Week.

In April the AFL-CIO created the Labor Law Reform Task Force, headed by Vic Kamber, former research director of the Building and Construction Trades Dept., to spearhead the campaign. With a one-year budget of \$800,000, the task force published a weekly newsletter, produced 100 copies of a film sent free to state federations, and mobilized a corps of 600 unionists in every congressional district to generate grass roots pressure on legislators.

Getting the information out.

"Our main job was getting out the information," says Doris Hardesty, task

the owners of the ranch didn't send for me. It's my own fault that I am here.' But I have told them: 'What do you mean you can't fight for your rights? Of course you can. You have the same rights here as you do in Mexico. You have a right to your possessions and your earnings, and you have the right to live without fear of the Migra. You don't have to hide yourself in the bushes forever in fear!'"

With the spirit and strength of many workers living in the trees like Anastasio Tello, the fields of agribusiness across the country may soon test ripe for a new kind of labor organizing.

The Maricopa County Organizing Project can be contacted at P.O. Box 919, El Mirage, Ariz. 85335.

Tom Barry is on the staff of Seers Rio Grande Weekly in Albuquerque.



In 1966 RCA moved its color television production from Indiana to Memphis. Five years later, they closed the plant and moved operations to Taiwan.

force staff member in charge of community contacts. "Once people understood what labor law reform was all about, it was easier to get support. The story of human suffering at places like J.P. Stevens really did make a difference."

In early July the AFL-CIO briefed lawyers and lobbyists of international unions, many of which sent special representatives to lobby for the bill. Teams of unionists, including members of the Teamsters, the National Education Association and others not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, then held briefing sessions with Representatives.

Some internationals organized their own campaigns. The UAW, calling the bill their "number one priority," utilized up to three-quarters of their community action staff in lobbying for the bill in Washington and around the country. When rank and filers came to the capital for regional conferences, they spent much of the time convincing elected officials of the need for labor law reform.

The Machinists union generated

250,000 pro-reform postcards from all but four congressional districts. "It's all on the line on this one," said Winpisinger. "This is not a litmus test; it's the absolute test."

The campaign culminated with an Oct. 4 dinner sponsored by Americans for Justice on the Job, an AFL-CIO-initiated coalition of about 50 organizations. Over 1,500 persons heard speeches from Vice-President Walter Mondale and other luminaries, again spotlighting the importance attached to the bill by labor.

By the third day of House debate the pattern was so clear that one employers group put out an advanced statement pledging to "redouble our efforts to see that this bill is defeated in the Senate."

"This issue is basic and gained a lot of support from civil rights groups and the women's movement," concludes Stillman. "The important thing coming out of this is that those links, where they've been broken, are gradually coming back together. That's the key to progressive legislation in this Congress."

NACLA on Labor



NACLA's Labor Project is one aspect of NACLA's eleven years of investigation and analysis on US corporations and government policies in the US, Latin America and the Third World.

1. *Women's Labor*: Sept. 1975. A theoretical analysis of women's roles from pre-capitalist societies through capitalism and the transition to socialism.
2. *U.S. Unions in Puerto Rico*: May-June 76. A historical and current examination of how the AFL and Teamsters have promoted "business unionism" to facilitate US investments, and Puerto Rico's workers' response.
3. *Hit and Run: Runaway Shops on the Mexican Border*: July-Aug 75. An in-depth study describing the effects and implications of runaway shops on Mexican and US workers in garments and electronics.
4. *Chase's Rocky Road*: April 76. A collection of articles about the Chase Manhattan Bank, including the bank's management of pension funds, and the changing nature of the workforce and prospects for organizing bank clerical workers.
5. *Argentina: AIFLD Losing Its Grip*: Nov. 74. A detailed analysis of US attempts to subvert trade unions in Argentina after Peron's return; particularly relevant today in light of the military junta's repression of trade unions.
6. *Smouldering Conflict: Dominican Republic, 1965-1975*: April 75. A probing analysis of US investments and a penetrating view of "trade union imperialism" on the island.
7. *Capital's Flight: The Apparel Industry Moves South*: March 77. A case study of

capital's mobility, its effect on workers' lives and their ability to organize.

8. *Electronics: The Global Industry*: April 77. A thorough study of this runaway industry that sets the context for answering questions like: Why do shops runaway? Can workers stop them from running? Are foreign workers the enemy of US workers?

9. *Boss & Bureaucrat: Managing Labor's Discontent*: May-June 77. A description of the State's legal apparatus and capital's "labor-management" institutions and their entanglement with US trade unions.

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CITIES

When the banks ran Yonkers

Joseph Kelly

When Yonkers, N.Y., skirted bankruptcy in the fall of 1975, the "City of Seven Hills" on the Hudson River joined its giant neighbor to the south as a symbol of the urban fiscal crisis.

Bankers cited Yonkers as yet another example of fiscal irresponsibility. Nearly a third of the city's \$138 million budget was funded with short-term loans that the banks refused to renew.

It wasn't long before the large Polish and Italian neighborhoods that dominate the city of 200,000 felt the impact of that decision. Budget cuts totaling \$18 million left their mark on services. Schools were closed, hundreds of employees fired, and a wage freeze imposed. Tough new financial controls designed to protect the city's creditors have established a legacy for the future.

But the punishment enacted under the guise of "fiscal recovery" went well beyond any financial transgressions that were committed.

Because of its growing ghetto area, the steady loss of jobs and stores, an aged housing stock and declining population, Yonkers possesses all the characteristics of a city fighting to stay alive.

Textbook example.

Now it is also a textbook example showing the financial community directly asserting its influence over the democratic process.

Many of the new controls are contained in legislation that took full effect this year giving the financial community first call on the city's treasury.

Before the streets are plowed or the payroll is signed, banks that hold Yonkers' debt must be paid the interest and principal on the securities they hold. As sales and property taxes are collected, a fixed percentage is skimmed off the top and deposited in a special fund for the banks.

The legislation establishes New York State Comptroller Arthur Levitt as a "fiscal agent" to administer the fund and act as watchdog over Yonkers' financial management. Levitt can order Yonkers to raise its taxes if the fund falls too low. And if the city balks, he can go to court on behalf of the bondholders.

"Basically, this puts the interests of the banks before the taxpayers...before everyone," said one banker frankly.

The financial community held Yonkers hostage for nine months in 1975 and '76 until it got that legislation passed. And it might have been worse. The original proposal drafted by bonding attorneys called for a bank or trust company to be appointed as the fiscal agent.

That measure was eventually modified, but it reflects the aggressive stance taken by the banks throughout the crisis in Yonkers.

Unlike New York, whose sheer size is an asset in this respect, Yonkers, which sits on the northern border of the Bronx, possesses little of the political wherewithal to fight back.

Banks refuse money.

City officials were trying to borrow \$11.5 million for various construction projects when they discovered in October 1975 that the banks considered them an unwelcome customer.

The municipal bond market was in terrible shape. The collapse of both the Urban Development Corporation and New York City within weeks of each other that spring had sent shockwaves through the country.

And the market was flooded with New York City securities unloaded by the big New York banks—a fact that has now been verified in the Securities and Exchange Commission report on New York City's crisis.

Although Yonkers officials had expected to pay a higher than usual interest rate for the privilege of borrowing money, the city's crisis broke into the open when the



In addition to all the usual urban problems Yonkers has the burden of outside financial control.

banks offered to loan the city only a fifth of the amount asked for.

The dimensions of the problem soon became apparent. Yonkers was scheduled to return to the credit market to renew more than \$50 million in short term loans over the next seven months.

But the same banks that a year earlier were supporting Nelson Rockefeller's tottering Urban Development Corporation for several times that amount refused to aid the state's fourth largest city.

Within a month drastic measures were undertaken to "restore the confidence" of the financial community.

Controls and default.

An Emergency Financial Control Board was created and an 18-month fiscal plan calling for dramatic cutbacks in jobs and services was announced.

On December 31 firings began with 112 school crossing guards. Before it was over about 800 persons lost their jobs and a wage freeze was imposed on the remaining 4,000 city workers.

The city's school system suffered the most, losing nearly one-third of its work force. Seven schools were closed and many classrooms and extracurricular activities were eliminated.

On Feb. 11 Deputy State Comptroller John J. Feeney said he was optimistic that the banks would now come forward to help Yonkers because of the "achievements" it displayed in reorganizing its finances.

He was wrong. The banks continued to turn their backs as they had for the four preceding months and Yonkers became the first community in New York state to default.

It was a short-lived episode. Within a few days the state agreed to loan the city \$8.7 million while Manufacturers Hanover Trust and several small banks came up with the rest of the \$15 million that Yonkers needed to meet its February expenses.

The events of February were a dramatic illustration of the barriers attached to the city's planned return to the credit market.

Five days before the default deadline banking representatives appeared to have settled upon an agreeable funding package. But Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, and Citicorp refused to go along and as a result scared all the others away.

The banks had plenty to complain

about in the city's financial management. For years revenues were routinely overestimated while expenditures were masked by a chaotic juggling of the city's books.

City in crisis.

But the roots of the financial crisis go much deeper than the gimmicks that were used year after year to balance the budget.

In better times, during the late 19th and early 20th century, Yonkers was known as the "city of gracious living"—a suburban refuge for weary New York City residents seeking a home of their own with a backyard.

It wasn't long, however, before the same impulse that encouraged the growth of Yonkers as a city became its downfall.

In the summer of 1954 the Alexander Smith Carpet Mills abandoned its huge operation in Yonkers and moved to Greenville, Miss. Before World War II the plant employed more than 6,000 workers. Whole neighborhoods in the city were created by the families of millworkers. When it closed, 2,400 persons lost their jobs.

Ironically, two months earlier, another harbinger of urban decline had appeared on the horizon. A large, regional shopping center opened next to the New York State Thruway on the outskirts of the city.

Over the years, stores and businesses have gradually abandoned the downtown area. Getty Square, which was once a vital shopping district in the heart of Yonkers, is now populated with vacant storefronts.

And what is probably the most singular contribution by the city to the metropolitan area—the famous Yonkers Raceway—is itself in dire financial straits. Its owners claimed a loss of nearly \$1 million last season, the result of stiff competition from the new Meadowlands Race-track in East Rutherford, N.J.

The fiscal crisis has simply dramatized the fragile status that urban centers occupy in the nation's economy.

Police walkout.

In Yonkers, the result has been to give banks and state fiscal authorities whole new areas of discretion over the future direction of the city.

The power they have to make life miserable in Yonkers was dramatically revealed in June when members of the city's 460-man police force walked off their jobs for three days.

The job action was precipitated by a state appeals court ruling that ordered Yonkers to rehire 300 city school teachers who were laid off for economy reasons. The decision, which is expected to cost \$5-7 million, threw a wrench into the city's carefully structured fiscal recovery plan.

State officials made the most of the situation by taking the opportunity to exercise their new "get tough" attitude on city finances.

"Yonkers has to face up to its situation," said deputy comptroller Feeney, who directed that the teachers be paid out of the city's treasury—refusing to give Yonkers the permission to borrow the money by floating bonds.

The police saw the handwriting on the wall: if money for the settlement came out of the city's treasury, it would eliminate any funds that were set aside for their pay raises.

Who's in charge here?

When city officials said they were powerless to circumvent the state comptroller's office, the police staged a "sick-out" that left Yonkers unprotected for three hot summer nights.

"I want to know who's in charge here, the city or the control board?" demanded Alfred Portanova, head of the Police-men's Benevolent Association.

The police held out for a firm guarantee of something, and after three days they got it. The state comptroller's office—which is the real power behind the control board—publicly reversed itself and agreed that Yonkers could borrow the \$5 million to pay the teacher settlement.

The police strike showed in graphic relief how Yonkers has become a showcase for the subtle mechanisms—like controls on borrowing—that enable banks to shape the day-to-day life of urban America.

The original decision refusing Yonkers permission to borrow the money was as arbitrary as the stonewalling by the banks that plunged the city into crisis in the first place.

Troubled places like Yonkers are easy prey for the forces of reaction. When push comes to shove, they have few resources at their disposal to fight back with.

Joseph Kelly is a reporter in Yonkers.

Jobs that kill

Sidney Harris



Only sterile women need apply

By Dorothy McGhee
Pacific News Service

When Vicky Read, a 22-year-old resident of Coraopolis, Pa., saw an ad announcing that a nearby zinc mineral plant was hiring women, she jumped at the chance to earn \$4.70 an hour. With her handicapped husband out of work and with a small child to support, her income of \$2.50 an hour at a local hospital was just not enough.

"They didn't tell us it might be dangerous," Read says, "and I just figured it was a chance to get a good job. All I knew was that my father worked there [St. Joes Mineral in Monaca, Pa.], and my uncle, and my grandfather before he died of lung cancer."

At St. Joes Read was assigned to what they call the roaster department, one of several processing plants in which the company uses lead to produce zinc and acid.

"It's very dirty and hot," Read says. "It's over 100 degrees at all times. It's dirty up to your knees and it's all in the air. You have to wear respirators, but even that doesn't help a whole lot. You can smell the gas. It burns your nose and throat. It's common knowledge that you can get sick working in there, but no one likes to talk about it."

About three months after she started working in the roaster department, the company called together the 17 women who were employed in the processing plants and told them they were being transferred because high exposure to lead in the plants could be dangerous if they became pregnant.

"They told us," Read recalls, "that if we wanted to have our tubes tied or have a hysterectomy or something like that, that would be perfectly all right and we could stay where we were. The only way we could get in the plants any more was to have papers from the doctor saying

we could not have children."

The women were told they would be transferred at the end of the month to the labor pool, where they would be assigned to janitorial and yard work at reduced pay.

"I was very upset," Read says. "It meant a reduction in pay and nowhere to bid for upgraded jobs under the union seniority system, because there's not too many places to work in that mill that aren't exposed to lead. I really needed to work."

A million women exposed.

Until she was transferred, Vicky Read was one of an estimated one million women, according to HEW, in their prime child-bearing years who work amid potential exposures to chemical substances and processes that can cause birth defects and miscarriages.

Now she is one of an untold number of women around the country who are losing their jobs, or being excluded from jobs, because they are pregnant or capable of becoming pregnant. Other women are undergoing tubular ligations or hysterectomies to keep those jobs.

A bizarre confrontation is emerging between working women's rights to a safe workplace under the broad provisions of the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act, and their rights to equal employment opportunities under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In the lead and zinc industries and in virtually all smelters, fertile women are being transferred or dismissed from processing plants with high exposure levels to lead. Goodyear, DuPont and General Motors have removed women from areas of high exposure in their battery plants.

Scores of new cases of sex discrimination are cropping up. In Muncie, Ind., GM is being sued by a woman who was

denied employment because she was capable of having children.

At the Bunkerhill Foundry in Idaho and at St. Joes Mineral in Pennsylvania at least four women have undergone hysterectomies or tubular ligations in order to keep their jobs. Other women, preferring to remain fertile, have been transferred, often at a loss of pay and job seniority.

Fear of suits from children.

Exposure to lead is not the only problem. The petrochemical industry is becoming nervous about female employees who work with benzene. Exxon and Dow Chemical will no longer hire fertile women for jobs involving exposure to that chemical.

At Amoco, women employees must immediately report a missed menstrual period to the company physician; one woman was fired at Amoco's Sugar Creek facility for failing to give timely notice of her pregnancy.

In the plastics industry corporate managements are worried about the effects of vinyl chloride on fertile women. Laboratories using radiation have begun dismissing pregnant employees.

A female research technician in a thyroid laboratory in Illinois was told to resign or take a maternity leave of absence without pay. Afraid to lose both her salary and unemployment benefits, she accepted dismissal.

Industry's sudden concern for the health and safety of developing fetuses is prompted primarily by the prospect of having a deformed child bring suit. As one Dow Chemical official put it, "We'd rather face an action by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission than a deformed child."

Workers' compensation, which acts as a sort of no-fault insurance for employees injured on the job by compensating them but limiting their right to sue, does not cover birth defects or spontaneous abortions. The fetus is not covered, so anyone can bring suit until the age of 21, claiming to be deformed because his or her mother was exposed to a dangerous substance.

"The only redress of the damaged child would be a civil action, almost equivalent to medical malpractice," explains John Finklea, director of the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH). "The mother cannot sign a release for the fetus, and liability will accumulate as research is being done. This, it seems to me, will be a powerful lever for everyone to get to work on this problem."

Industry's way of "getting to work" has been primarily to exclude women from areas of risk.

Little government help.

Nor has the Labor department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), charged by law with making it possible for Vicky Read and other working Americans to hold jobs without jeopardizing their health, been of much help.

Through the development of standards called threshold limit values (TLVs) OSHA is responsible for setting permissible levels of harmful substances in the workplace—levels at which, according to available evidence, workers may be regularly ex-

posed to toxic substances without adverse effects. OSHA, however, has set TLVs for fewer than 500 of the 19,000 toxic substances in common industrial use, and for only 16 of the 2,400 chemicals suspected to be carcinogenic by its research arm.

Even where standards have been set, OSHA has not been equipped to enforce them. As of 1976 Congress had provided funds sufficient to allow OSHA an inspection force capable of examining only 2 percent of the nation's workplaces. Fewer than 4 percent of America's five million workplaces have had first-time inspections, according to Ralph Nader's Health Research Group. And only 400 of OSHA's 1,500 inspectors are trained to conduct the sophisticated investigations that are necessary to pinpoint carcinogenic chemicals or those that might cause birth defects.

New lead standard.

OSHA is now considering a revised standard for exposure to lead, since recent medical evidence suggests that the current standard allows concentrations of exposure that could cause miscarriages. The proposed revision, which is expected to be issued by the end of the year, allows for half the exposure level currently permissible, and it promises a substantially diminished risk of miscarriage.

But the lead industry calls the proposed revision unduly restrictive and far too costly. Industry spokesmen maintain that smelters across the country will be forced out of business if the revision is adopted.

Proponents of the lower standard, however, contend its adoption would signal the government's commitment to equal opportunity for women. Olga Madar, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, testified at recent OSHA hearings, "Industry prefers excluding a group with a problem rather than dealing with it. After the fertile women are removed, who will be next? Black workers who carry the sickle-cell anemia trait in their blood? Older male workers who have the highest probability of heart problems? The list of groups with special susceptibility goes on and on, until a strain of superworkers has been bred."

Men, however, are not superworkers, and there is growing evidence that the reproductive organs of male workers might also be adversely affected by toxic substances and processes. Foreign studies suggest that an unusually high number of male workers have abnormal sperm test results after exposure to lead. Women whose husbands have been exposed to vinyl chloride have an unusually high incidence of still births and miscarriages.

At St. Joes Mineral in Monaca, according to Vicky Read, the men are not complacent about the dangers. "The men are aware," she says, "that lead can hurt them, and it upsets them. They can't understand why the company is concerned about us women and not about them. Why don't they have a case of discrimination against the company? They have to work in the dirty places and we don't."

Dorothy McGhee, formerly publisher of Washington Newsworks, writes frequently about health and consumer issues for national publications, including the Progressive, where a longer version of this article appeared.

Losing your job is also hazardous

By Martin Brown
Pacific News Service

Many of the 19,000 or more workers laid off in recent months by giant steel companies can be expected to suffer physically, as well as economically, because of their job loss.

They run a higher risk of heart disease, ulcers, arthritis, hypertension, flu and other ailments associated with emotional

stress than they did before they lost their jobs.

That job lay-offs carry hidden health costs for the workers is shown in a study soon to be released by the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health. Conducted by Drs. Stanislav Kasl, professor of epidemiology and public health at the Yale School of Medicine, and Sidney Cobb, professor of community health

at Brown University, the study investigated health effects of long or permanent layoffs on 200 workers of two large industrial plants.

The findings may be particularly relevant for workers currently laid off in Youngstown, Ohio; Lackawanna, N.Y.; Johnstown, Pa., and other iron and steel centers. (ITT, Oct. 5 and Oct. 12.)

"The situation is quite comparable—layoffs due to plant shutdowns," Dr. Kasl says.

Workers who were older, had been employed longest and were in poor health were hit harder than younger and healthier workers with a short work history at the plant, the study found. Kasl and Cobb's two-year study focused on married men aged 35 to 59 who had at least five years' seniority and a long history of stable work experience.

A significant number of these men suffered physical stress symptoms from the time they were anticipating job loss, until after they were rehired.

They showed high levels of uric acid, associated with arthritis; high pulse and blood pressure and blood cholesterol levels, associated with hypertension and heart disease.

A high frequency of hypertension was observed. There was a high level of peptic ulcers, including flare-ups of old ulcers. Minor ailments also were more frequent among the unemployed men than in a control group of industrial employees who still had jobs. Wives of the unemployed also showed a high incidence of ulcers.

To avert such health problems Dr. Kasl recommends programs that offer emotional support. These should involve the family, the union, the company and the community, he says.

Yet he and Dr. Cobb found that layoffs usually mean abandonment by the union, the company and the loss of other support groups.

The study recommends that companies and government cooperate to prevent sud-

Sidney Harris



den job terminations for thousands of workers and, instead, set up job phase-out and retraining and re-employment programs that allow gradual transitions and prevent needless stress.

Martin Brown, science editor of PNS, teaches at the University of California at Berkeley.

While Shell may not have ignored the guidelines, the company-sponsored study's unscientific arbitrariness is suspicious. During testing of DBCP, rats and other animals showed tissue alteration at 5 ppm. But never did the scientists test for consequences at exposures below 5 ppm. They took a calculated risk that 1 ppm would be safe.

The consequences of their decision have to be borne by the workers who have unknowingly handled DBCP since production began in 1954.

Little recourse for workers.

Fertility measurement is a matter of contention in the scientific community. All researchers agree that fertility depends on the production and mobility of spermatozoa as well as hormonal secretions. But some scientists say anything below 20 million is abnormal and others say anything below 40 million is. The company naturally favors the 20 million figure.

This gripes Rafael Moure. As the industrial hygienist for the OCAW International, he is deeply involved with the DBCP problem. The company seems worried more about limiting its liability than about its employees' health and safety, he says, adding that it's hard to believe that Shell officials are saying "It's not that bad; we can't say it's sterility."

Workers in Denver who find they are sterile, by whoever's measurement, will have little recourse in the courts. Not only can they not sue Shell, they cannot get workmen's compensation because the law requires that to be compensable, job-

caused "injuries" must interfere with the employee's ability to work.

The union may lobby to have the state law changed, but the GOP-dominated legislature is considered unsympathetic.

For Elliott and other veteran Shell Chemical workers, cancer is the chief concern now. OCAW wants the government to establish a long-term medical program to monitor past and present employees for the incidence of cancer, which can take 20 to 40 years to appear.

The OCAW has taken a prominent role in defending the rights of its members to safety in this matter. Union pressure led the government to pass "emergency temporary standards" for DBCP manufacture—10 parts per billion—that will effectively prevent the chemical industry from resuming DBCP production. The union also fought hard to obtain company-held results of the fertility test and convinced NIOSH to monitor those tests.

But some workers are afraid if they pressure too hard they may convince Shell to close its aging Denver plant. Said one worker, "It's common knowledge that if Shell gets too much heat, it'll shut a plant down." Hanson said he knew of no instance when Shell had done that.

A footnote to this story of company indifference shows that the DBCP issue may not go away even if another drop of the stuff is never produced. An ominous Canadian study found DBCP residue of 2 ppm on commercially marketable radishes and somewhat lesser concentrations on other root vegetables.

Timothy Lange is a writer in Denver.

Shell workers misled on sterility

By Timothy Lange

DENVER—Increasing evidence gives little doubt that a pesticide called 1,2 dibromo-3-chloropropane—DBCP—is the cause of sterility among some men who worked with it (ITT, Aug. 31). But the Shell Chemical Company, which together with the Dow Chemical Company manufactured 20 to 25 million pounds of DBCP annually, continues to minimize the potential risk faced by employees who came into contact with the pesticide during its 23 years of production.

DBCP is used to protect vegetables and other crops from roundworms, primarily in the South and in California. In June an extraordinary high number of workers who blended DBCP with other chemicals at the Occidental Chemical Company in Lathrop, Calif., were discovered to be sterile or to have marginal sperm counts.

Because fertility tests are uncompleted, up-to-date figures are difficult to obtain. But in Denver, where Shell made DBCP under the brand name Nemagon until last year, 36 men had been tested as of Sept. 17. Of those, at least 10, and perhaps as many as 24, showed abnormal sperm counts.

All inquiries about DBCP are now routed to Shell's Houston office. The public relations representative there, Richard Hanson, said last week that he is "extremely impressed with the moral standards of Shell," the "zeal" with which the company investigates medical problems and its "erring on the side of safety."

But in a Sept. 1 memorandum to employees Shell's company doctor, R.E. Joyner, was quoted as saying, "The data to date is insufficient to draw conclusions concerning fertility or to establish cause

and effect relationships." Dr. Joyner also told officials at the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) that the company has been unable to establish a "significant correlation between length of individual exposure and sperm count."

Failure to notify workers.

Most indicative of Shell's attitude is the company's failure to notify its employees about test results that demonstrated a clear link between exposure to DBCP and sterility.

First evidence of this link appeared in 1954 in an internal paper submitted by researchers hired by Shell. Conclusions of that paper and tests commissioned by Dow were published in a toxicological journal in 1961. But it was not until after the Lathrop tests became known that Shell workers learned what the company had known all along. Even then, their local of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) had to pressure the company to get their own fertility tests started.

Hanson said he has convinced the corporate hierarchy that in the future workers should be apprised of the results of all tests conducted on Shell-produced chemicals. But he denied the implication that the company had ignored the 1961 study of DBCP. The company, he said, had followed all the study's suggested guidelines, including a recommendation that air in the DBCP-production areas not rise above 1 part per million (ppm). During manufacture, DBCP in the air averaged .2 ppm to .6 ppm, well within the guidelines, he said.

Women have job safety concerns

By Andrea Gunderson and Jane Melnick

CHICAGO—A group of 6,000 peach growers recently suggested that people who don't want children, who are already sterile, or who want to "get around certain religious strictures" against birth control should volunteer to work in peach groves sprayed with pesticides that have been revealed to cause sterility.

This example of managerial ingenuity

was cited by Carl Carlson, chairman of the Chicago Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health—CACOSH—at the opening of a conference in early October on occupational safety and health and women workers. The conference, "All in a Day's Work" was cosponsored by several unions and health groups and brought over 200 people together for speeches and workshops on occupational

Continued on page 18.

Commoner, Conyers & Sadlowski featured at Chautauqua

THROUGHOUT THE LATE 19TH AND early 20th centuries popular educators and entertainers plied the prairies and the cities with educational "revues" called Chautauquas. Revivalists and anarchists, temperance advocates and populists, jingoists and socialists—all organized Chautauquas to bring their message to the people. They were, in their time, a key part of American political culture.

On December 3 the Chautauqua tradition will enjoy something of a revival in Chicago. *IN THESE TIMES* will celebrate its first year of publication with a Chautauqua at the Midland Hotel in the heart of Chicago's Loop.

Like the old-time Chautauquas this one will feature prominent speakers.

Barry Commoner, who has been described as "the first person to derive socialism from the second law of thermodynamics," will be the major attraction of the daytime program. Commoner, who directs the Center for the Study of Biological Systems at St. Louis' Washington University, will talk on "A Democratic Energy Program." His latest book is *The Poverty of Power*.

The program will begin with a discussion of "Popular Socialism in These Times" with

James Weinstein and Martin J. Sklar, editors of *IN THESE TIMES*.

Liz McPike, former director of the Illinois Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), will speak on the political meaning of new trends in the labor movement. McPike led her union through seven years of intense organizing. She is currently on the staff of Women Employed, a Chicago-based organization for clerical organizing.

There will also be workshops exploring important issues of concern:

Lou Palmer, a controversial black radio commentator in Chicago, Sister Gabriel Herbers of the Alliance to End Repression, and David Hamlin, who heads the Chicago Civil Liberties Union, will discuss the tensions between the right to free speech and the fight against racism. These issues have been of special significance in Chicago, where Nazis have been openly organizing against blacks and Jews in the volatile Southwest side of the city.

The arms race and foreign policy will be the focus of a workshop led by Sam Day of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists and Betty Bono of the Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy.

Vicente Navarro, foremost marxist health care expert and editor of *The International Journal of Health Services*, will lead the workshop on "Can the Health System be Reformed." He will be joined by John McNight of Northwestern University.

The problems and prospects of organizing among working women will be discussed in a workshop led by Clara Day, Vice President of the Congress of Labor Union Women and an organizer for the Teamsters, Day Creamer, director of Women Employed, and Mary Jean Collins, Field Representative of the Illinois Nurses Association.

The prospects for capitalism and Carter's approach to its problems will be examined in a workshop led by Alan Wolfe, political columnist for *IN THESE TIMES*, and Carl Parrini of Northern Illinois University.

Finally, Chicago political activists will meet to debate the prospects of a new political majority in the second city. This workshop will be headed by Vernon Jarrett, syndicated columnist at the *Chicago Tribune*, Don Rose, a leading independent political organizer and journalist in Chicago, and Heather Booth, director of the Midwest Academy.

The Chautauqua will reconvene in the even-

ing to hear keynote addresses from Ed Sadlowski, the outstanding leader of the rank and file movement within the United Steel Workers Union, and Rep. John Conyers of Detroit. Studs Terkel, author of *Working* and the recent *Conversations with Myself*, will emcee.

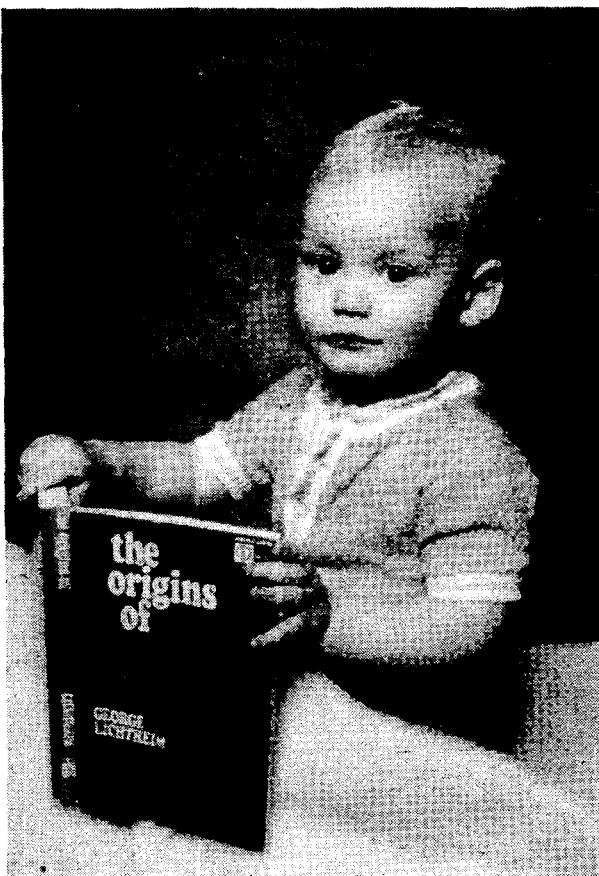
Webster defines Chautauqua as "refreshment for the mind." The *IN THESE TIMES* first Anniversary Chautauqua will undoubtedly be that. But it will also finish with a little refreshment for the body and spirit. Return of the Kalif, a superb Chicago musical group will entertain and there will be dancing and a cash bar.

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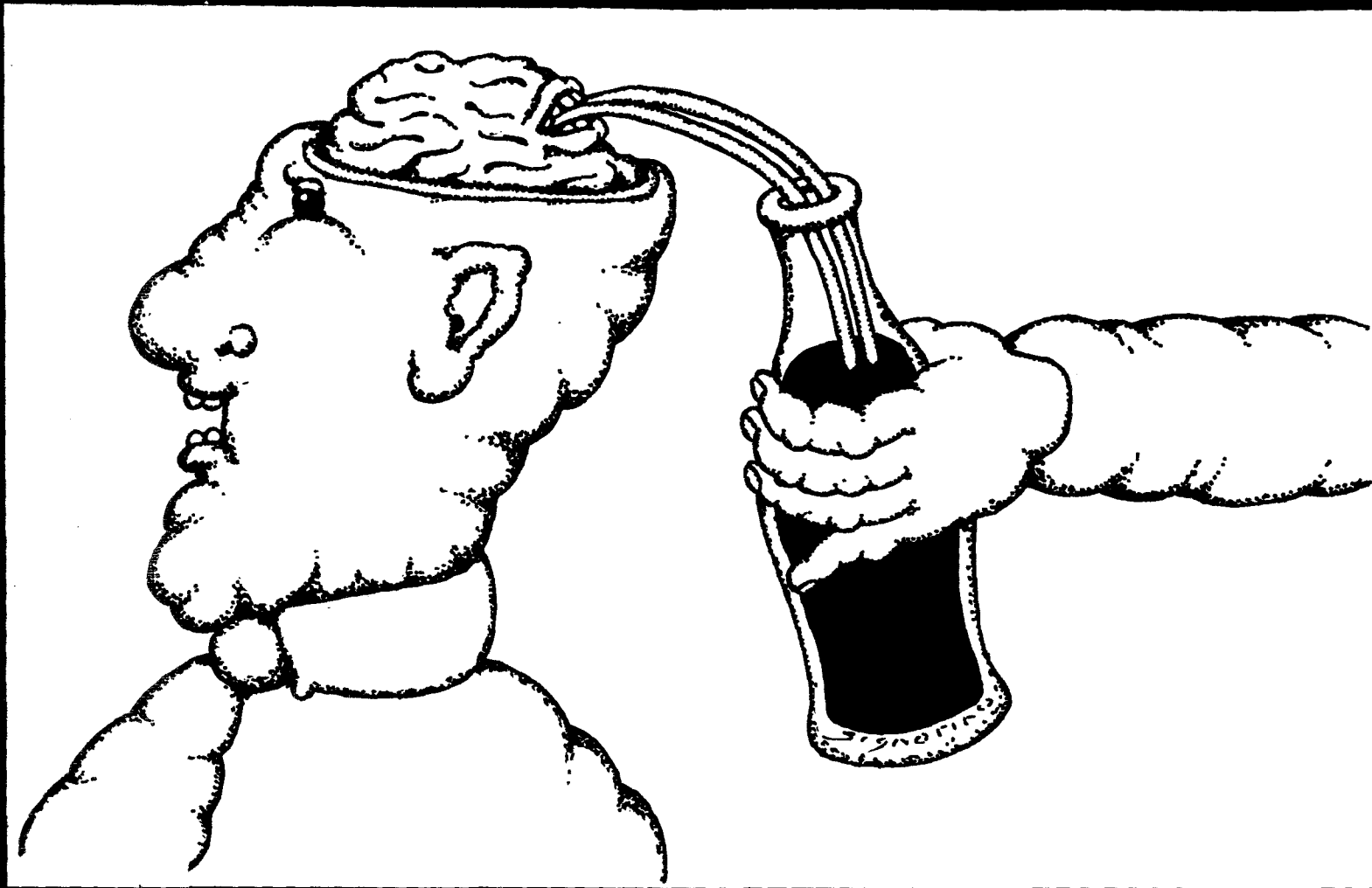
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IN THE WORLD

BRITAIN

Labour delegates balk at old old story

Prime Minister
Callaghan promised a
brighter horizon...
Others saw storms.

BRIGHTON, ENGLAND—Listening to speakers at the Labour party conference, one had the feeling of being a visitor in the home of an unhappily married couple who would burst into quarrels but for the presence of strangers. The antagonism between the Government and the rank and file is muted by reluctance to hand a propaganda point to the Tories with an election likely within the next 12 months.

Denis Healey, our ebullient Chancellor of the Exchequer, came to Brighton straight from the IMF meeting at Washington, where congratulations on Britain's economic recovery had been voiced by director Johannes Witteveen. In actual fact, Witteveen's statement was couched in very cautious terms and highly selective quotation is needed to make it sound congratulatory at all. Healey, however, declared boldly that the current improved balance of payments and up-valuing of the pound amounts to victory in a new Battle of Britain.

He was immediately followed by a delegate—a sharp-tongued young woman from Liverpool—whose first words were, "Well, comrades, we've just heard the old, old story." Laughter and applause greeted her from all, or nearly all, parts of the hall.

She went on to spell out a few truths that Healey had forgotten since his early Marxist days: "Unemployment is the product of capitalism and the only remedy to it is socialism." More applause. Despite years of lectures from modernizers and revisionists, this is still what the people who keep the party alive at the grass roots believe.

Economic nonsense.

Other speakers declared that praise from Witteveen is a danger signal, and emphatically dissociated themselves from an economic policy designed to gratify the IMF. The present share boom, some pointed out, merely means quick profits for speculators and is no real measure of the country's economic health. They were far more concerned about the production index, which hasn't risen since 1973 and in fact has recently declined, and above all about unemployment. The total of jobless is still rising as winter approaches, and delegates shouted their approval when union leader David Basnett summed up this situation as "economic nonsense, a social obscenity, and a political catastrophe."

Economic nonsense is right. The direct cost of unemployment, in welfare benefits and in lost taxes that would be paid if the unemployed were working, far outweighs the budget deficit. Tony Benn, Minister for Energy, gave the conference another thought-provoking figure: "The annual loss of production from unemployment and idle capacity is now about twice as much each year as the maximum revenues we shall get out of the North Sea oil field each year when it will be in full production."

The conclusive reply to Healey came from Barbara Castle, the former Social Services Minister whom Callaghan dismissed when he formed his Government. "This is a financiers' recovery and not an economic one. Solvency is no substitute for growth... The deflation of the past year has been economically disastrous. We need a rescue operation for the economy before it is too late."



Poor helping the poor.

Labour rank-and-filers and parliamentary candidates will plead their case at the next election to voters who have received no personal benefit from the so-called recovery.

The 1970 Labour government had secured a payments surplus by massive deflation, all the statistical criteria were right, and Prime Minister Harold Wilson

and Chancellor Roy Jenkins were confident of winning the election. But they lost; working-class voters were conscious of nothing but tightly controlled wages, high prices, and heavy taxes. At this week's conference, a cry from the heart came from a candidate for an industrial town: "For God's sake, Denis, don't make the mistake that Roy Jenkins made in 1970."

When Callaghan rose to speak, he repeated Healey's confident message: "The nation can now begin to lift its eyes and see a brighter horizon." He was able to announce two signs of foreign confidence in Britain. Poland has placed an order for 24 British merchant ships, guaranteeing work for 8,000 men in Britain's ail-

Continued on page 18.

ITALY

Youths protest Communist policy

BOLOGNA, ITALY—Thirty years of Communist municipal administration have made Bologna the model city of the Italian Communist party (PCI). But a three-day meeting of some 40,000 youth here the last weekend in September has made it a codeword for left opposition to the PCI's "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats.

The gathering grew out of a meeting on repression called by Bologna's student activists in the wake of last March's demonstrations in which one medical student died, a slew of militants were jailed, and police occupied the city's university.

Students considered the city administration's failure to prevent the March police actions a logical extension of the PCI's national efforts to forge a close working relationship with the Christian Democrats. The students' meeting on repression steadily evolved into a test of strength for the anti-PCI left.

It also evolved into a test for the PCI, with the whole nation watching to see whether the Communists would tolerate dissent in their Bologna stronghold. After initially taking a hard line, the local administration did an about-face and pledged demonstrators a park for lodging, easy transportation within the city and low-cost meals.

Long-haired youths.

Nonetheless, the mood in Bologna was still tense as the meeting opened. The weekend before its scheduled start, terrorists shot a journalist from the PCI daily, *l'Unita*. The attack was not connected to any group organizing for the meeting, but much of the press never bothered to make that distinction clear.

On the eve of the gathering, a member of Lotta Continua, a key group behind the meeting, shot a friend while

showing him a pistol. The wound wasn't serious, but the incident embarrassed Lotta Continua, which had been waging a struggle against a show of arms, and became the lead story in the next day's *l'Unita*.

On Friday, Sept. 23, demonstrators began to arrive. Thousands upon thousands of jean-clad, long-haired youths walking back and forth on crowded streets, sometimes heatedly debating in small groups, sometimes stretched out in the sun watching a bit of street theater. Some wore American college sweatshirts, and only the backdrop of narrow, arched streets and medieval piazzas seemed to anchor the sight to Italy.

On one side was the *vecchia nuova sinistra*, the old new left, the veterans of the '60s who make up the bulk of the three parliamentary groups to the PCI's left. These three ran a common list in Italy's crucial June 1976 election, winning a disappointing six seats. The internal divisions between them now, however, are so intense that a common list would be impossible today. One of the three, the *Manifesto* group, even chose not to participate in the meeting. But these internal divisions pale against the differences that separate the three from their chief rival at the meeting, the *autonomia*.

Armed struggle line.

The *autonomia*'s symbol, a hand raised in the shape of a pistol, is a stark indication of its "armed struggle" line. The *autonomia* youths, while careful to keep some distance between themselves and the underground groups like the "Red Brigades" whose brutal shooting attacks on public figures have outraged Italians across the political spectrum, nevertheless describe the shootings as sparks that can radicalize the masses who are ripe for revolution.

What has fueled the growth of this fantastical and dangerous perspective, say old new leftists, is the desperation of unemployed youth, many with college diplomas, shut off from Italian society. The word often used is *emarginazione*, marginalization.

There are, some go on to say, two societies rising in Italy, the *emarginati*, who have no place in the Italian social structure, and the *garantiti*, who do. They write off the *garantiti* as hopelessly wedded to the status quo and see the *emarginati* as the vanguard of a revolution that is ready to begin.

Impressive march.

Participants convincingly repudiated *autonomia* initiatives throughout the weekend, including a plan to march on the jail where students arrested around the March uprising are still being held. On Sunday afternoon a huge street-wide line of demonstrators—estimates ranged from 30,000 to 50,000—marched peacefully and impressively through Bologna.

But the students from all over Italy, the old new left, the anti-nuke activists, and the segment of the feminist movement left little more united than when they had arrived. Nor did they take advantage of their moment in the national spotlight to make the left opposition's case against Communist policy, which centers on Communist agreement with the DC on law and order legislation. (See *ITT*, Sept. 14.)

"If all the 'movement '77' can produce on a theoretical and a programmatic level is a march, then for us it's gone rather well," said one PCI militant to the local Bologna daily the Sunday night the meeting ended.

Sam Pizzigati, a Washington freelance writer, recently returned from Italy.

THE FRENCH LEFT

Austerity uniting divided unions



THE FRENCH LEFT, which had expected to win in next March's elections, may be in trouble. On Sept. 15, a summit meeting among the French Communists, Socialists, and Left Radicals broke up when the Socialists and Left Radicals refused to agree with Communist demands for revising the left's Common Program.

Bernard Moss, author of the recently published *Origins of the French Labor Movement* and a series on the French left for *IN THESE TIMES* (Jan. 25-Feb. 16), explores, in the third of a four-part series, the rift between the two parties. Moss recently returned from a year in France.

By Bernard H. Moss

This summer the Catholic priest and new left leader who had led the Lip watchmaker in the take-over of their factory came to the Communists to make amends. In an interview with *l'Humanite Dimanche* he confessed that he and his supporters had been mistaken in believing that workers' management could be introduced from below without prior changes in the political center. He admitted that his supporters had been motivated by a traditional anti-Communism, and that as a result of their experience they now felt closer to the party, which in the meantime had become more sensitive to issues of worker control.

The confession of the leader of the labor federation was symptomatic of the growing unity among French trade unionists, who only a few years ago were bitterly divided—old leftist versus new, Communist versus anti-Communist. The growing unity is less the result of a mutual compromise than of the defeat of new left efforts to organize a mass movement without the Communists, who for their part have been able to "recuperate" or recover many of the new left issues.

Crisis of new left unionism.

Ever since the events of May-June 1968 the Catholic-inspired CFDT has been the special vehicle of new left theories in the French labor movement. CFDT leaders held that the "quantitative" fight for wages and benefits was inherently reformist because these demands were easily absorbed by the capitalist system. Only so-called "qualitative" demands, challenging work and authority structures, were considered revolutionary.

Taking up the syndicalist legacy, the CFDT believed it possible to transform the capitalist organization of work simply on the thrust of a mass movement from below without the prior changes in politi-

Above: CFDT leader Edmond Maire
Right: CGT leader Henri Krasucki



cal structure sought by the united left. It suspected production workers of being inherently economist and conservative and looked to more marginal elements—immigrants, youth, women and technicians—as the new vanguard. In pursuit of its theories, it supported minority strikes within an industry and factory occupations that often led to division, violence and defeat.

Because of its solidarity with the student movement of 1968, new leftists entered the CFDT, which in 1970 officially adopted a program of "socialisme autogestionnaire," or workers' self-management. Championed by the intellectual left, the CFDT was the fastest growing and most dynamic union in the early '70s. Even at its height, however, with one million members and 18 percent in professional elections, it was no match for the Communist labor federation, CGT, which was twice the size and consistently received 50 percent in shop steward and plant committee elections. As the united left of Socialists and Communists progressed and the economic crisis deepened, the CFDT was constrained to reassess its new left practices.

Because of the crisis militant local struggles became more difficult, while left unity was drawing many members into the "autogestionnaire" Socialist party. By 1976 the CFDT was advocating a policy of convergence with the united left, with its majority and minority tendencies lining up ideologically with their counterparts in the Socialist party.

Hard pressed both by the CGT and reformist labor federation, the CFDT had to abandon much of its new left rhetoric. It no longer claimed that wage struggles were reformist or that radical changes in work structure could be obtained under capitalism. By 1976, 17 of its 29 industrial federations had worked out common platforms with the CGT with only three refusing unity of action. Differences over immediate demands had been narrowed to the question of the wage scale, which the CFDT wanted sharply reduced through cross-the-board raises and cuts for upper level management. Previous disagreements over national strike action had also been resolved by the crisis as the CFDT joined the CGT in the CGT's

New left style unionism and anti-Communism are in growing disfavor among French workers. Communist-led CGT is prospering.

favorite political tactic, the 24-hour general strike.

CFDT under fire.

Within the CFDT the moderate leadership of Edmond Maire was being contested by both a Marxist left and extreme left opposition. Early this year Maire took disciplinary action against several sections controlled by the extreme left, but the left opposition, which held a majority in seven federations and at least 20 percent of the votes, continued to grow.

The conservative department of Mitterand this spring forced Maire, a member of the Socialists, to take his distance from the party, denouncing its "presidential character" and the "timidity" of its social program.

To maintain the CFDT's identity in the face of the united left, a comprehensive program was issued in June. Its economic features resembled those of the CGT, but its proposals for autogestion were unique. In contrast with the Common Program, which entrusts the management of public enterprises to tripartite boards of workers, consumers and government representatives, the CFDT proposed that these boards be elected by the workers independently of the trade unions.

Fearful that tripartite boards would be dominated by the Communists in the CGT, the CFDT wanted to free unions from any responsibility for planning and management. The CGT contended that the CFDT plan would be counter-productive because by relieving the trade unions of responsibility it would allow the old managers and technocrats to return to power.

Friendly contradiction.

The CGT has survived as the most representative union only because it was flexible enough to take up many of the issues pioneered by the CFDT. Though the CGT doubtless takes its ideological orientation from the Communists, it is completely independent organizationally; it is no mere transmission belt. Recently, it has asserted its independence through the promotion of non-Communist leaders and the elaboration of a program that diverges from the Communists in minor

respects.

While its preferences are clear, it has not intervened in the recent polemic between Communists and Socialists. It has recruited and trained thousands of women, immigrants and young people as union leaders and placed renewed emphasis on democratic management and the humanization of the work process. Additionally, it has come closer to the CFDT on the question of the wage scale.

The wage scale is an example of the type of friendly contradiction that will probably characterize collective bargaining under a left government. Over the past 15 years the CGT has built up the largest union of engineers, supervisors and technicians by respecting their material interest in percentage raises. Since then, however, public opinion has become more concerned about sub-standard wages and the gross inequalities that characterize the French income structure, which boasts the widest disparities between top and bottom among industrial nations.

The CGT has therefore come to place greater emphasis on graduated increases that will raise lower categories considerably more than higher ones. The Communist party has taken an even more radical turn that places it close to the CFDT, calling for a freeze above \$21,000 a year and reductions above \$29,000. This means that the CGT, which represents some employees in the \$40,000-a-year bracket under some contracts, will be defending a much wider income spectrum than the Communists in government.

Unity against austerity.

The fight against the Barre austerity plan, which has frozen wages in the public sector, has also resulted in the radicalization of the third largest confederation, the FO, which draws most of its support from this sector. The unifying ideology of the FO, which broke away from the CGT in 1947, is anti-Communism.

Led by the upright and popular Andre Bergeron, who calls himself a "Protestant reformer in a nation of true believers," the FO is strongly committed to free collective bargaining. Yet, despite his frequent supplications—in official and secret meetings with the French President—Bergeron has so far failed to move the government on the wage freeze. He has, meanwhile, received considerable criticism from his supporters for servile conduct unbecoming a trade unionist. Faced with a barrage of criticism and an explicitly socialist opposition at the recent congress, Bergeron was compelled to announce his support for the CGT-CFDT general strike of May 24, the largest one since 1968 and the only one ever supported by FO.

Despite ideological differences all the unions are coming together to fight capitalist austerity. Though the FO would not admit it, all the unions are encouraged by the prospect of a left government. Georges Seguy, head of the CGT, has said that a left government could expect its support only if it satisfies labor's immediate demands. Maire has taken a similar position. Since the Communists are the only ones actually backing labor's economic demands, they will be in a position to use the weight of the trade unions against their Socialist partners in government.

On the other side, it is difficult to see how the FO and CFDT, who have always been more moderate in their wage demands and who are linked ideologically with the Socialists, can outflank the CGT on its left. The upshot of these alignments is that all three confederations—Communist, Socialist and social democratic—can be expected to support a left government within the framework of free collective bargaining. Politically, it means that none will be available to lead a rightwing or ultra-left rebellion against the new regime.



From Moscow to people's war to Peking turkey

David Milton, co-author of **The Wind Will Not Subside**, a study of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, argues that China's latest foreign policy gambit has failed. Unwilling to anger Moscow, Carter and Vance have declined China's offer of an alliance.

Above: Sec. of State Cyrus Vance and Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua at a welcoming dinner for Vance in Peking Aug. 22.

Right: Chou-en Lai flanked by Anastas Mikoyan and Nikolai V. Podgorny at 1964 Moscow parade marking the 47th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

By David Milton

In the past few weeks Chinese leaders have expressed their dissatisfaction with the results of the official visit to Peking by American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Peking has good reason for its present mood of frustration over Sino-American relations. For more than five years China has forfeited much good will in Asia, Africa and Latin America in pursuit of a Sino-American unified front directed against the Soviet Union.

The hoped for alliance has proved to be a will-of-the-wisp, as the Carter administration has come to believe that China needs the U.S. more than the U.S. needs China. Washington feels no urgency in resolving the Taiwan question, and policy makers in the State department are now convinced that the U.S. can dictate the terms of the relationship with Peking.

The recent cooling of the American establishment's ardor for China is a result of a fierce bureaucratic struggle fought out over the past year in the National Security Council, the Pentagon and the State Department. Essentially, that policy struggle was between hawks who wished to forge a quasi-military alliance with China in order to tip the world balance of power against the Russians and those who believed that such a policy was extremely dangerous and might well lead to nuclear war.

The advocates of massive arms aid to China went to great lengths to persuade their opponents that there was little that the Soviet Union could or would do to counter an American-sponsored modernization of the Chinese armed forces. This was a miscalculation leading to a major foreign policy crisis for the inexperienced and inept Carter foreign policy team.

Soviet rebuke.

On May 14 of this year, during the middle of the major American strategic policy debate in Washington, the Soviet Union threw its own cards on the table in the substance of a major commentary in *Pravda* signed I. Aleksandrov, a pseudonym used by the Soviet Politburo. The Aleksandrov commentary was a tough warning from Moscow to Carter that the U.S. was playing with fire. Moscow charged that Peking was preparing for war against the West as well as against the Soviet Union and charged that "China is today the only country in the world whose official circles advocate publicly without any camouflage a new world slaughter." The Russian message stated that any military aid sent to China would eventually be used to launch a new world war.

The meaning was loud and clear—the Russians would not stand idly by while the U.S. prepared to weight the world military balance against them. The Aleksandrov commentary was significantly timed to appear one week before the opening in Geneva of Soviet/American talks seeking a new accord limiting strategic weapons.

Carter and his National Security advisor Abigniew Brzezinski, amateurs at the game of nations, were faced with the textbook executive crisis options—war, surrender, or present policy. Carter took the traditional executive choice of going down the middle, continuing the present policy toward China plus giving Peking a restricted amount of military-related technology. Apparently, they reasoned that China, through weakness, would be forced to accept some military-related aid as a trade-off for the non-resolution of the Taiwan question, and that the Russians would be placated by the knowledge that the plan for a Sino-American military alliance had been shelved. The hawk faction in the Pentagon was, no doubt, stroked with the assurance that the China card would be held in reserve to play against the Soviets should any new compelling contingency arise.

Chinese failure in Washington.

China's new regime learned through the Vance visit that the Chinese gamble to play off Washington against Moscow was not paying the dividends that had been expected.

Both Mao and his successors had tried to influence American politics in the hope that anti-Soviet hawks would come to power in Washington or at least have a major influence over policy. The Chinese leaders had sent a special plane to San Clemente to bring Nixon back to Peking; they had given special privileges to the American former Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, who had toured Chinese military bases; and a month before the Vance visit they had invited retired Admiral Elmo Zumwalt for high level discussions devoted to the forging of joint Sino-American efforts to deal with the Soviet "polar bear." After all this effort, the Peking leaders were faced with a new American President who was not particularly interested in China and even showed contempt for her.

On Sept. 14 the newly rehabilitated Vice Premier, Teng Hsiao-p'ing showed his pique over the failure of the Chinese strategy. Teng, in his usual acerbic style, told an eight-member Japanese delegation from the newly formed Conservative party that while the Russians were prepared to fight a third world war, the Americans did not have the will to do so. After informing the Japanese delegation that the 30-year-old Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid would expire in 1980 and would not be renewed, Teng suggested that Japan should bolster its armament and defense capacity to meet the Russian threat in Asia.

This was not a proposal likely to be received with enthusiasm by the smaller nations of Southeast Asia, by the Japanese people, or even, perhaps, by the Chinese people themselves. While the Peking leaders are correct in denouncing as a sham current Soviet-American disarmament efforts, massive new armament programs launched by Washington and Tokyo are hardly rational solutions for



the arms race. Peking's proposals are, at least, embarrassing to the dignity of a leading socialist nation, and, at the most, irresponsible.

The monotonous Cassandra-like warning from Peking that a third world war is inevitable falls on deaf ears throughout the world, except for the rightwing American, West German and Japanese politicians who have beaten a path to the Chinese capital to listen to it. Chinese leaders now state that a Soviet attack on China is unlikely. However, high Chinese officials continue to irritate Westerners by lectures on the failure of the West to prepare for an imminent Soviet attack on Europe.

Out of a bi-polar world.

How has it come to pass that People's China, once the hope of the oppressed peoples of the world, is now so hopelessly divorced from the main popular currents flooding the international arena? The background history is complex, but risking oversimplification, it might be argued that China's foreign policy over the past 20 years has been shaped by Mao's efforts to break out of the confines of a bi-polar world controlled by Washington and Moscow decision-makers.

Mao's efforts were crowned with success when both the Russians and Americans were forced to treat China as an independent great power. A triangular system of world power then began to eclipse the old bi-polar system. However, the U.S. and the Soviet Union are still the only two powers capable of destroying the entire globe and the emergence of China has not altered the special relationship between the two superpowers.

Given the configuration of the international system during the last 30 years, China has been confronted with three basic strategic options—alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, alliance with the third world nations, or, when the possibility arose, alliance with the U.S. During different periods, China has pursued all three options. Each strategic shift has had profound effects on Chinese domestic policy and the course of China's revolution.

In the early '50s, in the face of an American economic blockade and unofficial war with American armies in Korea, Mao advocated "leaning to one side," signed a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union and joined the socialist bloc. During the late '50s Mao had good reason to suspect Soviet-American collusion to divide the world up between the two great super-powers. At that point, Mao decided to guarantee China's independence by the development of her own nuclear weapons program. This was a course previously pursued by British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and French President Charles De Gaulle.

Mao's decision to initiate a go-it-alone defense policy resulted in a power struggle within the Chinese leadership. Mao won the struggle by deposing the Russian-backed Minister of Defense, Peng Teh-huai. Peng was replaced by Mao's ally

Marshal Lin Piao who then began to rebuild the Chinese army as a Maoist political instrument. However, although Mao won the decision on Peng, he was unable to win a majority for his position on the Central Committee.

China's Krushchev overthrown.

During the early '60s Liu Shao-ch'i, the Chairman of the People's Republic in control of the party organization, attempted to establish Peking as the center of a new international communist movement. Mao was apparently lukewarm towards this policy and waited to see what its outcome might be. After the explosion of China's first atomic bomb in the fall of 1964 Mao began to prepare for the struggle that would return him to power.

The total annihilation of the Indonesian Communist party one year later signalled the collapse of the world communist movement. China was faced in the fall of 1965 with American intervention in Vietnam and the bombing of her border areas. Liu then reverted to a strategy of "joint action" by China, the Soviet Union and other Asian communist parties to counter American aggression in Vietnam. Liu Shao-ch'i never broke with the concept of the socialist camp whether led by Moscow or Peking.

Mao denounced Liu's policy of "joint action" and countered with the publication of Lin Piao's historic article, "Long Live the Victory of People's War." Lin called for the revolutionary people of the third world to conduct armed struggles, with or without communist leadership, so that the revolutionary countryside of the world might surround its imperialist city—the U.S. These revolutionary movements were urged by Lin to follow a policy of self-reliance rather than depending on outside aid from the socialist countries. The American Secretary of Defense, unable to cope with revolutionary warfare in Vietnam, panicked at the new Chinese manifesto and labeled it "Mao's Mein Kampf." Dean Rusk, then Secretary of State, took a more sanguine view of the Lin Piao thesis, referring to it as a "do it yourself program."

After the publication of China's new strategy doctrine, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution, forestalling Liu's intention of using the Chinese army to back up the Vietnamese. Instead, Mao used the army as an internal political instrument to overthrow Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing who controlled the Chinese Communist party. On May 9, 1966, after overthrowing the Peking Party Committee and with the help of the army, who seized Peking's party newspaper, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution. On the same day China exploded her first hydrogen bomb. Liu Shao-ch'i was subsequently overthrown as a symbol of the Russian model of socialism and labeled "China's Krushchev."

China's strategic shift from alliance with the socialist camp to alliance with revolution in the third world lasted in theory

throughout the Cultural Revolution, but in practice Chinese foreign policy was inoperative during those stormy years. On March 2, 1969, Chinese soldiers opened fire on a Soviet patrol in disputed area in the Ussuri river region on the Sino-Soviet border, killing seven Russian soldiers and wounding 23. On March 15, the Soviets retaliated with a full-scale military engagement in the same area during which hundreds of troops on both sides were killed or wounded.

USSR becomes enemy

Two weeks later, on April 1, the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist party opened in Peking. Deputy Party Chairman Lin Piao and the army dominated the leading bodies of the newly elected central committee and Lin was designated in the party constitution as Chairman Mao's legal successor. Lin Piao delivered the main political report at the 9th Party Congress in which he spelled out the third major shift in China's strategic view of the world.

For the first time in the history of the New China, it was officially proclaimed that imperialism and social imperialism—that is, the U.S. and the Soviet Union—had become for China equal enemies. The Soviet Union had been elevated to the position of a principal or main enemy, a position previously occupied solely by the U.S. Either during the Congress or immediately afterward, Chairman Mao, allied with Premier Chou En-lai, initiated a new power struggle directed against Lin Piao and his followers.

This struggle included Mao's insistence that the Soviet Union must be considered China's main enemy and the U.S. a secondary enemy. Within little more than a year Mao had won another major struggle over Chinese strategic policy. Lin Piao was killed under mysterious circumstances, and 40 top generals were purged from the Chinese army. In the last analysis, Liu Shao-ch'i had promoted an alliance with the Soviet Union, Lin Piao advocated opposing both superpowers, and Mao advocated an alliance with the U.S. against the Soviet Union. Mao won and Nixon was invited to Peking.

Great disorder under heaven.

Ironically, Mao Tse-tung's victory in the struggle over foreign policy resulted in the erosion and eventual collapse of his revolutionary domestic policy. In order to defeat Lin Piao, the Chairman was forced to ally himself with Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the very party leaders he had been fighting for so long on China's domestic front. In the end, Mao had to resort to a classical policy for power trade-off—Teng Hsiao-p'ing and other party leaders pledged to support Mao's foreign policy in return for reinstatement to leading positions in the party and government.

Teng fulfilled his part of the bargain by travelling to New York in the spring of 1974 to present China's new strategic world view to the United Nation's As-

sembly. In that speech, Teng announced to the world in almost casual terms: "The socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence." The world situation, Teng said, was one of "great disorder under heaven." There was hardly anyone who could disagree with Teng's latter statement.

During the last few years of his life, Mao continued his private discussions with conservative world leaders like Franz Joseph Strauss of West Germany, former Prime Minister Edward Heath of Britain, and Nixon of the U.S., and supervised the translation and widespread distribution throughout China of Nixon's book, *Six Crises*.

At the same time, Mao became more and more unhappy with the erosion of his revolutionary domestic program. Finally, after the death of Premier Chou, "the gang of four" deposed Teng Hsiao-p'ing for the second time. The rest is history; after Mao's death, his widow and her friends were expelled from the Chinese Communist party, while Teng and his followers ended up in charge of the nation.

Most recently, the post-Mao regime has set into motion a broad and ambitious program to make China a first-rate scientific, technological and industrial nation by the year 2000. In a new strategic shift, China will no longer limit itself to Mao's policy of industrialization through self-reliance, but will "keep to the principle of learning from abroad." Advanced technology, including whole factories, will be imported from the advanced nations. China will borrow from international banks for this purpose if necessary, but Peking hopes its new immense oil discoveries will cover the balance of trade.

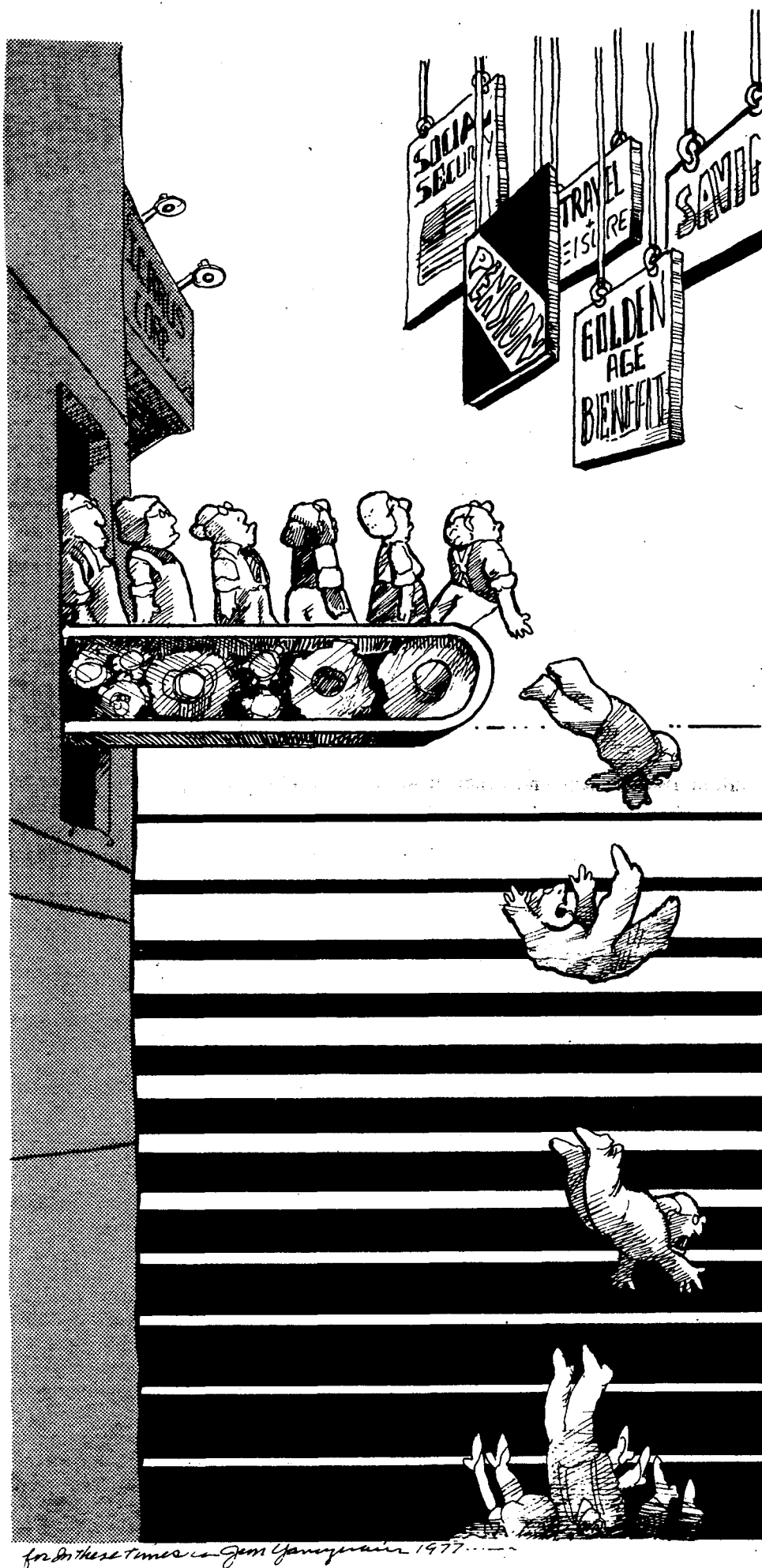
China has announced that it will not attempt to match the nuclear weapons systems of the two superpowers, and a recent proclamation that wage increases will be granted to a broad range of China's lowest paid factory workers, technicians and teachers indicates that the military has lost its first post-Mao battle over budget allocations. There should be nothing to prevent the industrious and intelligent Chinese people from accomplishing the national goals they wish to achieve.

In the meantime, progressives throughout the world must hope that Peking's new leaders who have demonstrated such flexibility on China's domestic front may now initiate some constructive new proposals in international affairs. France, speaking for the minor nuclear powers, has recently announced the intention of advancing its own proposals on world nuclear disarmament. Perhaps China can do the same. The question of nuclear disarmament is too important a matter to remain under the exclusive monopoly and control of the two superpowers.

David Milton is the author with Nancy Milton of *The Wind Will Not Subside*, a study of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

Editorial

Social insecurity and forced retirement



Under present circumstances, retirement for most means smaller incomes, less security, and no hope of a turn for the better.

What do Col. Sanders, Will Greer, Ruth Gordon and John Wayne have in common?

They are all over 70—in fact, their average age is 78—and they are all in agreement, in Col. Sander's words, that a person "will rust out quicker'n he'll wear out." These people, and many others like them, are actively working into their late 80s. They, and 70 to 80 percent of the American people, believe that mandatory retirement is bad. Like Will Geer, television's Grandpa Walton, who testified before the House Select Committee on Aging last May, many others believe that it is "absolutely criminal that old people should be put on the shelf," with "nothing to do but die."

For professionals, actors, business people and others whose life work has been creative, productive or challenging, retirement, even with sufficient income to be comfortable, is an unpleasant and sometimes unhealthy prospect. But for millions of others who might enjoy retiring from a lifetime of routine work and insecurity, the prospect of forced retirement is worse. It means living in increasing isolation and poverty on inadequate social security or private pensions. These people might look forward to retirement as a means to a more creative and interesting life—traveling or in second careers—if they could retire on secure and comfortable incomes. But under present circumstances retirement for most means smaller incomes, less security, and no hope of a turn for the better.

Blocked in the Senate.

In an attempt to do something about this situation, Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), a 76-year-old former New Deal Senator, introduced a bill, HR-5383, to amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. ADEA permitted employers to force workers in private industry to retire at 65 and sanctioned a mandatory retirement age of 70 for federal employees. The Pepper bill, which passed the House by a vote of 359 to 4 on Sept. 23, would raise the permissible mandatory retirement age in private industry to 70 and would eliminate mandatory retirement at any age for most federal workers.

Although it passed the House overwhelmingly, both because of strong public sentiment against mandatory retirement, and because older people tend to hold their representatives more strictly to account, a Senate version is not given much chance to get through this session. The Business Roundtable, a business lobby, opposes it strongly, as do the School Administrators. The Senate Human Resources Committee, which reported the bill out on Oct. 1, permits teachers at all levels of education and also management personnel eligible for pensions of more than \$20,000 a year to be retired at 65.

Business is bombarding Capitol Hill with protests against the proposed ban on mandatory retirement, but labor lobbyists are "not lifting a finger" in opposition to the Pepper bill or the Senate version. The AFL-CIO, which

has traditionally pushed early retirement as a means of combatting unemployment among younger workers, now appears to be neutral on the question.

Traditional union view.

One reason for this is that the unions believe that most workers, particularly in unionized work, will choose to retire at age 65, even if they are eligible to continue working another five years. This seems to be borne out by the limited experience in Seattle, where mayor Wes Uhlman ended mandatory retirement of municipal workers (except for firemen and policemen) last May. A city survey and interviews conducted by the *New York Times* indicate that most workers will retire on schedule. Not surprisingly, those most likely to stay on the job were in executive or supervisory work. People in "routine" jobs generally indicated that they would retire when eligible.

The traditional union view in favor of early retirement still has strong appeal among working people and in many unions. One danger is that the administration, in order to solve the crisis in the Social Security trust fund, will attempt to raise the benefit age from the current 65 to 68, even though Pepper and the backers of his bill are strongly opposed to such a move. Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps has already lofted a trial balloon to that effect. Another danger, probably more real, is that social security payments will continue to increase more slowly than the rate of inflation, forcing more and more people over 65 to continue working simply to survive.

In either case, the result would be both an erosion of the living standards of older workers and increasing competition between older and younger workers for the inadequate number of jobs.

Need: adequate social security.

To solve the problem in a manner satisfactory to all would require social security payments high enough to provide a comfortable and secure existence for working people who reach age 65 and a genuine program of full employment. Then most people reaching 65 would retire and workers of different ages would not be pitted against each other in a competition with no possible winners, except for corporate employers seeking inexpensive labor.

Realistically, however, the prospects for truly adequate social security payments are dim, at best. And the possibility of full employment within corporate capitalism is a dream that recedes ever further from view. On this issue, as on an increasing number of others, the only possibility of a solution that meets the needs of the competing groups of working people is a socialist society in which the human needs of economic security and a creative, productive and useful life can be met and in which workers could adjust their retirement according to their own inclinations, skills and means, and not according to an arbitrary chronological age. ■

Letters

Up with logic

Editor:

I've enjoyed your first year of publication. I'm looking forward to year two and hope your plans for growth of the paper are exceeded.

I was proud of your editorial defending the rights of American Nazis and fully agree with the logic of your editorial. In my opinion, it is fully consistent with socialist values. Such stands and the total impact of your fine paper are sure to contribute to the growth of socialism in America.

—Raymond R. Clemence Jr.
Houston

A unique socialist paper

Editor:

I am enclosing a check to renew my subscription to *IN THESE TIMES*. I like the paper very much. It is non-sloganizing and doesn't say that it alone has the correct line. It is critical (and even critical of itself), and all of these plus many other remarkable attributes make it most unique for a socialist paper. Continue your excellent work.

—Eugene Pieter Feldman
Chicago

Learning from Adam

Editor:

I appreciated Bruce Vandervort's article on the North/South talks (*ITT*, Sept. 28). Probably like other *ITT* readers, I didn't know North/South from Adam, and Vandervort's careful analysis is the first thing I've read that really makes sense of it all.

Brian McGinnis
New York

Wanted: NFL, AL, NL

Editor:

The Lester Rodney article was fun, but let's have more articles that do what Rodney says a sports section should do: write about sports fans follow. What about the dollar-crazed Yankees? or Buffaloed O.J.? I liked the way you covered the NBA, but what about those other sports?

—Howard Lunz
Madison, Wisc.

How to turn a bad egg into a good egg

Editor:

As many of you know, a nationwide coalition of peace and anti-nuclear groups—probably the broadest-based effort since the end of the Vietnam War—has formed the new "Mobilization for Survival." The Mob's goals are: Zero Nuclear Weapons, Ban Nuclear Power, Stop the Arms Race, Fund Human Needs. This is the greatest effort thus far to unite the forces struggling against nuclear weapons and nuclear power. All too often, classical pacifists have looked down their noses at the nuclear power issue as somehow of lesser moral significance; while anti-nuclear power activists, on their part, have been strangely blind to the environmental threat represented by nuclear weapons. (Even if they were never to be used, nuclear weapons are at least as dangerous to produce as nuclear-powered electricity.)

The issues of health care, education, public transport, etc., are entwined with the nuclear issues. If national priorities were altered, capital that would no longer be used for nuclear weapons/power production could be transferred to pref-

erable "baskets." I am no economist; few of us in the peace/anti-nuke movements are. Please, you experts out there: Tell us, do we falsify the dynamics of a capitalist economy by this conception of capital as resembling eggs?

The Mobilization is gearing up for intense educational efforts in the next few months; it would be helpful to have some illuminating analyses of the relationship between spending for arms and nuclear power and spending for human needs.

—Judy Huley
Boulder Mobilization for Survival
Cactus Alliance

Self-Reliance wants help

Editor:

I feel I should respond to Ken Sullivan, Beckley, W. Va., who commented on my Knott County cooperative mine piece (*ITT*, Sept. 28). First, since Ken Sullivan did not know what *Self-Reliance* is, a brief explanation: The newsletter is a bimonthly publication of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance in Washington, D.C., a non-profit organization that provides technical assistance to community groups and municipalities and disseminates information on the decentralization of urban services and production and on humanly-scaled community economic development.

Second, whenever we mention an ongoing project in *Self-Reliance*, we include the name and address of a contact. Readers should not simply be given interesting reports, but should also be given access to people working in the field. *IN THESE TIMES*, in its editing, left off the contact. As a result, readers did not know where to go for more details, except to a newsletter they had never heard of.

That Ken Sullivan wrote in to recommend the excellent *Mountain Life and Work* shows that people want more direct access to useful information. Mainstream journalism thrives on the assumption that the reporters have all the information and that the audience should sit back and soak it all in. Leftist journals and newspapers should encourage the further pursuit of information and ideas by readers so that analysis can be turned into action.

—Richard Kazis
Editor, *Self-Reliance*

Ed. Note: The Institution for Local Self-Reliance can be reached at 1717 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Wolfe lanced

Editor:

In his zeal to apply (what he may deem) class analysis, Alan Wolfe ("Economic Policy Underlies the Bert Lance Issue," *ITT*, Sept. 28) tells us that President Carter's tenacious defense of his Georgia crony was based not on personal ties but on clear ideas regarding "the role government should play in the economy..."

Exactly how did Lance, as the "key soloist" of economic policymaking, represent some strategically important point of view? He was, according to Wolfe, a man who still "believed in traditional, business-oriented government spending"—as though so-called post-Keynesian advisers like Charles Schultze and Michael Blumenthal are closer to Milton Friedman than to their Democratic predecessors Walter Heller, Gardner Ackley, and Arthur Okun. (Or to their Republican predecessors for that matter: even Gerald Ford's economic advisers did not hesitate to recommend a major tax cut to combat the 1974-75 business slump.)

A moment later Wolfe finds himself in deep trouble: "It was Lance who argued down Schultze's notion of a tax rebate (in early 1977) in order to stimulate spending." This obviously clashes with the foregoing portrait of Lance as a Keynesian, and Wolfe doesn't handle the contradiction very well at all. He immediately states that Lance opposed the Schultze recipe for traditional, business-oriented (tax) spending because of his desire to achieve a balanced budget—the very antithesis of Keynesian policy!

To make matters worse yet, it turns out that the now Lance-less Carter ad-

ministration is weighing a quick tax cut next year to counteract an expected sag in the economy in mid-1978.

It is true, as Wolfe implies, that orthodox Keynesianism cannot crack the celebrated inflation/unemployment "trade-off." The only "acceptable" way to fight inflation remains that of squeezing the economy hard enough to jack up unemployment to levels designed to "zap labor" and retard increases in unit labor costs; and of course even these old techniques are proving incapable of bringing the inflation rate back down to its early '60s pace of around 1 percent per year.

But it by no means follows that Democratic, or Republican, economic advisers are prepared to substitute free market solutions to inflation, joblessness, and "the welfare mess." To do so would involve massive cuts in public spending and wholesale rollback of government "regulation" of business, acts that would wreak havoc among the state capitalist institutions on which giant corporations bureaucratized labor unions, Democrats, and most Republicans utterly depend.

The departure of Lance did affect "business confidence" briefly, and only briefly, but this has more to do with the pathological fragility of such confidence (virtually any sign of instability clouds profit horizons) than with the man himself. As a "friend of business," Lance was not yet a real household word.

Moreover, his presence in government was becoming more embarrassing by the day since (as Wolfe himself points out, in another contradictory paragraph) he failed "even the most minimum standards of ethical propriety." (This, by the way, explains in part why it is a serious oversimplification to assert, as does Wolfe, that "Lance...did nothing contrary to the mores of his profession.")

In any case, Carter's defense of Lance was unrelated to all this: the President made no effort whatever to mobilize business opinion behind his budget director.

The Lance affair was peripheral to the critical issues of economic policy. It was largely superstructural, an ethical, everyday-politics uproar that threatened the legitimacy of the Carter administration and the "good name" of the banking community.

Wolfe does an injustice to Marxist analysis by forgetting that politics can at times have a life and momentum of its own in reflecting, and diffusing, the extraordinary complexity of capitalist society. As is, his article stands as a prime example of economism—the temptation to trace every event directly to some aspect of society's economic foundations.

—Richard B. DuBoff
Haverford, Pa.

Women priests

Editor:

As an activist in the effort, and a graduate student writing her dissertation on the subject, I have two disagreements with your recent article about women priests splitting the Episcopal church (*ITT*, Sept. 14).

First, the situation is worst in California. Reactions against women priests (and the new prayer book) have not been as strenuous in the rest of the country. Second, we would have a much more fragmented situation if women priests had not been made legal. Bishops were ready to ordain either way, people ready to leave the church and the scale would have been incredible. This is nothing in comparison to what might have happened!

—Heather Huyck
Minneapolis

This Camel tastes funny

Editor:

Karen Wynn's article on the CIA provides a good balance to Robert Borosage's piece on the FBI. (*ITT*, Oct. 5). Perhaps Borosage should have read Wynn's before writing. If he had, he might have avoided a great deal of wishful thinking.

Frank Johnson is clearly a cut above past FBI directors. His courage is certifiable. Further, it would be radical formalism to conclude that he will have no

voice of his own—Andrew Young has gotten away with a lot more than his critics predicted he would.

This does not mean that Johnson will be allowed to, or wants to, play his own mythical hero. To imply that he can take the FBI out of politics or the business of spying is like saying that you can take tobacco out of a Camel and still have a cigarette. Right now the FBI is engaged in image-building. After the rhetoric and scapegoating smoke clears, some reforms may yet remain.

Nevertheless, no administration will allow anyone to alter the basic nature of the Bureau. It is too important and anyway most Americans don't want that. Let protest heat up again, and it is a good bet that whatever wraps Johnson put on his agents will be removed.

The heart of my disagreement with Borosage is the extent to which he thinks particular establishment figures can change the face of the system.

—Ken Ratner
Evanston, Ill.

Oil spill

Editor:

OK, I give up. Your Oct. 12 editorial, "Middle East compromise floating on oil," is floating itself—on a sea of mixed metaphor and fuzzy thinking. What with commerce, religion, geographical accident and historical necessity crossing each other from all directions; seepers of clear-cut postulates; elixirs that hold political thinking down to earth or, alternately, lift it to perspectives beyond narrow and short-sighted views; and a few mounts of hope resurrected (and that's only in the first two paragraphs) I must have missed your point. In fact, I don't think you even have one.

Editorials are not news articles, to be sure, but your pontifical pronouncements of American, Soviet, Israeli and Arab motives and your projection of events to come is neither convincing nor particularly informing. Aside from the fact that oil has some importance in the situation—not a particularly novel bit of data—you don't seem to have anything to add.

Your reference to a possible compromise is little more than wishful thinking. Indeed, if everyone got pretty much what they wanted, then the crisis would be over. But everyone isn't going to get what they want. The real question is what the dynamic is at the present moment and how should socialists relate to it.

Finally, it does seem to beg the question a bit to say that American social-

Continued on next page.

Correction: Photos accompanying our story on Kent State last week were incorrectly attributed. The photos were taken by Paul Gottelher.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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DIALOG

New Soviet constitution is a catalog of contradictions

It is not easy to account for the behavior of a country that writes the "most democratic constitution in the world," honors it in the breach for some 40 years and then decides to scrap it entirely in favor of a new model. The fact that such is occurring in the Soviet Union, which, as Louis Menashe has recently pointed out in these pages (*ITT*, July 6 & July 13) is a society riddled with paradoxes, makes the matter a little easier to comprehend.

From the official Soviet point of view, the newly adopted constitution is of epochal significance. It marks the consolidation of a socialist society and the onset of "communist construction." I am not sure that anyone really believes this but all the same the official view of things is as much a feature of Soviet life as a beautiful metro or an overcrowded trolley.

The "official view" also makes some rather specific and revealing announcements about the path ahead. There is much that not only defines what com-

munist will look like, but a great deal that points back to pronounced tensions within the present order. In the constitution these tensions are not resolved, but allowed to exist side by side.

Economic wand-waving.

The Soviet state, directed by the party, governs economic activity through centralized command (sometimes mistakenly referred to as "planning"). The very success in creating a modern industrial economy has meant that there is progressively more to plan. As the economy becomes more complex, the difficulty grows of commanding the myriad of interconnected units and of making sure that somebody below does something right (that the order of parts is delivered on time, that next year's batch of shoes is not all size 2, etc.).

This problem has by no means been lost on the Soviets themselves. From the Libermann proposals of the early '60s to the Kosygin reform of 1965 to the devolution of authority from Ministries to sub-units ("trusts"), the authorities have straddled the fine line between acknowledging deep-seated economic maladies (expressed in sagging growth rates, enormous waste, poor quality goods and shortages) and actually doing something about them.

What emerges is a sort of "eat your cake and have it" philosophy that might be described as follows:

The party will continue to direct society through centralized command. But the society and particularly the economy have become too complex to function effectively on the basis of centralized command alone. Hence, individual units, especially productive enterprises, will be given more autonomy. This is calculated to bring operations, decision-making and incentives into closer proximity and yield, thereby, more initiative and responsibility at the enterprise level. Enterprise autonomy, however, will not replace the structure of command from the center. The two will exist side by side.

This bit of economic wand-waving gives the illusion of change more than the substance. Nothing guarantees harmony between the production targets coming from the center and what might be required for the enterprise to turn a profit. The new constitution merely records these irreconcilable imperatives. Chapter One is given over to a description of the first of these conflicting desiderata—the maintenance and extension of the centralized state apparatus directed by the party—while Chapter Two goes on to discuss the other, "the economic autonomy and initiative of the enterprise," operating on the basis of "cost accounting, profit and rational pricing."

Secanal for the giant.

This tension between political control and economic expediency has prompted many Western observers of the Soviet Union to posit a rift in that country between the so-called "apparatchiki" (party hacks) and the "technocrats." Even though statistical analyses of the Soviet elite have shown these groups to be largely one and the same (in terms of education and career), it is possible to distinguish two competing tendencies within the elite.

Their debate is framed by structural contradictions. On the one hand, economic results cannot be insured by persisting in the old ways; on the other hand, radically new methods, say, market socialism, may promote economic rationality and increase efficiency but at politically prohibitive costs. Not only would innumerable bureaucratic sinecures be displaced, but such a thorough-going reform would run the risk of inducing serious unemployment (as in Yugoslavia) and of rousing, thereby, society's sleeping giant—the Soviet working class (witness the 1970 and 1976 uprisings across the border in Poland, each sparked by reforms aimed at "rationalizing the economy").

Much in the new Constitution can be taken as more Secanal for the giant—the right to work, to housing, to health (including preventive medicine). And as long as the working population remains politically inert, politics-as-usual is played out between the two elite tendencies and between the elite and the dissident intelligentsia.

Law vs. party.

The daily press's emphasis on legality in the constitution might suggest a victory for the technocratic tendency. We might imagine that enterprises, governed by cost-accounting and guided by profit, are to behave as do their capitalist counterparts in the West. They contract with one another and are bound by the terms of these contracts. Deliveries of shoddy goods will become a thing of the past for no longer will firms deliver their planned output to a single state organ, but sell it under contract to other enterprises or retailers.

Failure to meet contract obligations is a legal matter amenable to legal solution (usually, the state arbitration service). And with this legal/rational equipment in place, what need is there of the party to direct it?

The more active role of the party in society, symbolized by Brezhnev's accession to the presidency, cannot be squared with the heralded role of legal relations throughout the state economy. But this has not dissuaded Soviet writers from attempting to square this circle as well. I. Stepanov, for instance, writes, "In socialist countries, the Communist party is the brain of the political system...and

the task of legal relations is to create the best conditions for effective party leadership of all activities of the representative institutions." So the constitution expresses another stalemate between the two intra-elite tendencies.

Rights not rights.

To the question "When are legal relations not legal relations?" the new constitution goes on to pose, regarding the dissident movement, a related conundrum: "When are rights not rights at all?"

The mainstream of the dissent in the USSR is perhaps best described as "constitutionalism." It is an echo of the great liberal struggles of the past few centuries to limit the coercive power of the state. Its rationale has been: "We do nothing illegal. We merely exercise the rights afforded us under the (1936) constitution. You, the authorities, break the law by jailing us (and worse) for this." The new constitution cancels this argument. The impressive list of civil liberties contained in Article 50—"freedom of speech, publication, assembly, meeting, street processions, demonstrations"—is qualified by the phrase "in correspondence with the interests of the workers and toward the goals of strengthening the socialist order." Phrased alternatively, Article 50 might read: "Each has the right to exercise his rights as the authorities so determine."

Everyone knows that this has been the case for some time. The point is that the authorities have put it in writing and the movement for civil liberties in Russia is back where the Decembrists began in 1825. Brezhnev explained this subtle point of jurisprudence the day following the release of the draft constitution: "It is necessary that each Soviet citizen clearly has recognized that the main guarantee of his rights is in the last analysis the strength and flourishing of the Motherland." (*Izvestia*, June 5, 1977.)

To conclude, the new Soviet constitution can be read as something of a catalogue of contradictions within that society. It is ostensibly a state document devoted to explicating the leading role of a non-state body, the party, much as the new Soviet national anthem (change constitutions, why not change anthems?) resembles more a hymn to the party than a song to one's country. And for its indecision, its equivocation, its sophism, the new Soviet constitution is a remarkably telling document on the present state of the USSR.

—Michael Urban
Missoula, Mont.

More letters

Continued from page 15.

ists should be worrying about bringing socialism to America, laudatory though that may be. What are we supposed to do about the Middle East in the meantime—bury our heads in the sand?

—William Patterson
Chicago

Down with legalisms

Editor:

Let me add my voice to that of Tanja Winter on the question of "free speech" for the Klan and the Nazis. I take issue with your assertion that the left and the Klan receive anything like equal treatment in civil liberties questions. (*ITT*, Sept. 7.)

For a current example, look at existing Pentagon policy stated in the Camp Pendleton case: "Membership in the Klan is not illegal." Yet the brass has fallen all over themselves in saying that "labor unions have no place in the military."

If you persist in viewing the issue in legalisms, how about describing the Klan as what it is—an open, flagrant conspiracy against the liberties, life and limb of minorities, labor and the left.

—Tom Doran
Spring Lake, N.C.

Pete Karman

The Karman Turn Teng for President

What with Bert Lance's bad checks, South Korea's good ones and similar scandals again draining Washington's trust account with the voters, folks are saying that we need an outsider who's more of an outsider than Jimmy Carter to yet again restore faith in the system.

That outsider has to be politically astute, conservative, honest, and appealing to minority groups. Folks left and right tell me that the outsider with the perfect qualifications is Teng Hsiao-ping, China's off-and-on vice premier.

While Americans have been dirtying their corporate paper towels in public, the doughty Mr. Teng has emerged, rather flamboyantly, as the world's foremost champion of the free enterprise system. For example, in a poll just last year of a representative one-quarter of the earth's population, Teng was named as the big daddy trucker on the road of capitalism. Not even Nelson Rockefeller gets that kind of recognition.

No one's bourgeois bona fides are more universally respected than Teng's. Chairman Mao repeatedly lauded him as a "capitalist restorationist" (exactly what we need in this country). Leonid Brezhnev credits Teng with being the "lackey of American imperialism" (more points in his favor). And David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission says, "Teng is someone who, unlike Bert Lance, we feel we can bank on."

The media are of like mind, praising Teng for his hardnosed pragmatism, fiscal conservatism and political moderation. It's hardly a coincidence that those are the qualities we Americans expect of our leaders.

Teng scores well on the sensitive race, pet and public health issues for saying, "I don't care if a cat is black or white so long as it catches mice." And then there's his earthy, downhome style (white socks, spittoons, foul language), so redolent of Harry Truman.

Best of all, Teng is clean as a whistle when it comes to conflicts of interest. He owns no stocks or bonds and has never so

much as accepted a toaster for opening a new bank account. The word from Peking is that he's willing to put his Chinese citizenship and party card in a blind trust if offered a presidential nomination here.

In the hurly-burly of politics, Teng is respected as a thick-skinned survivor. Nixon turned tail when the going got rough, but Teng hung tough when fanatic Cultural Revolutionaries called him a dog-eating freak. Now they're eating crow.

The sole blemish on Teng's record is an FBI report naming him as a youthful radical. It's also been rumored that he once made some unflattering remarks about the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. How much this could hurt him with rightwing voters remains to be seen.

Teng's star is on the rise again in Peking, and the American king-makers had better move quickly if they expect to lure him away from the Hua Kuo-feng organization that dominates the political action west of the GOP stronghold of Taiwan. Teng is leaving all doors open. He's said to feel that the No. 1 job in the smaller, culturally backward U.S. might just be preferable to the No. 3 slot in China. "I'd rather end up like Ford or Nixon than Lin Piao or Liu Shao-chi," Teng has quipped.

Teng has all the earmarks of a winner. How often, after all, does the U.S. get a chance to call upon the talents of someone who, in the considered opinion of 800 million people, is a veritable Bernard Baruch? A man who's proven he can get the job done (in Teng's home state of China, unemployment, inflation, street crime and out-of-whack budgets simply aren't tolerated)? A candidate with solid minority appeal?

What makes most sense, however, about a Teng candidacy here is that it's a natural. What could be more logical than having the world's No. 1 capitalist roader leading the world's No. 1 capitalist country?

Pete Karman is a free lance writer in Middletown, Ct. His column will appear regularly.

James Aronson



Neanderthal newspaper chains: Boycott the hell out of them!

This media watch recently took up the case of two small-town Michigan editors fired for rejecting a publisher's directive to print two fetid articles about the Carter White House (*ITT*, Aug. 17.) Such rare people tend to drift like disembodied spirits into the vale of the forgotten, so I have pursued the matter. I wrote last August that the stories were sad, but encouraging. My optimism was too modest. To recap:

The publisher is John T. McGoff, who owns eight Michigan dailies and 40 weeklies around the country—the Panax newspaper chain. Last summer the chief of the Panax New York bureau, George Bernard, sent out two stories—with what amounted to a must-print order—about promiscuity in the White House (with Carter condoning) and a plan to prepare Rosalynn Carter to take over the Vice Presidency. In Marquette, Mich., Robert N. Skuggen, editor of the *Mining Journal*, and in Escanaba, David A. Rood, editor of the *Daily Press*, refused. One was fired, one forced to resign. Whereupon, in this age of alleged apathy, all hell broke loose.

In both Escanaba and Marquette, several hundred persons jammed town meetings to back the editors. The citizens of Escanaba voted to encourage advertising and subscription boycotts of the *Daily Press*. They also reported their sentiment and action to Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), who is trying to get the House to take anti-trust action against "chain-store journalism," the process whereby absentee publishers are taking over small-town dailies without a hoot for local concerns.

New papers were established in Escanaba and Marquette. Rood got a job as news director for the new *Escanaba Reporter*. Skuggen moved north to become editor of the *Houghton Mining Gazette*. And the controversy moved out of the region and became a national issue.

The National News Council, established four years ago to cast an ethical watchdog eye over the nation's major media (it has no punitive authority), denounced the Panax policy as "regressive—a throwback to the crass episodes that marked the journalism of a by-gone era." The vote was 12 to 1, with William Rusher, publisher of William F. Buckley's *National Review*, dissenting (the council is made up of representatives from the media and from the public).

The criticism got to McGoff, who hired James R. Whelan, an old newspaper hand, to become editorial director of Panax and to launch a counter-attack. McGoff also took a full-page ad in *Editor & Publisher* to tell his side of the story. The ad was titled: "But Who Will Judge the Judges?" Whelan wrote to the *Quill*, magazine of the Society of Professional Journalists (September), proposing *Quill's* editor, Charles Long, for the first "Facts Should Not Be Allowed to Stand in the Way of Courageous Convictions Award." This was in response to Long's advocacy in an earlier column for a "Courage of One's Own Convictions Award" inspired by the Skuggen-Rood stand.

McGoff asked the National News Council for an open hearing, and one was scheduled for Aug. 16. A week before the meeting the Council received a ten-

page lawyer's letter from Panax accusing it of violating its own bylaws, issuing factual inaccuracies and rushing to judgment. It demanded a retraction before it would come to a meeting. Because there was no time for all the Council members to study the Panax document, the Council canceled the meeting. The Escanaba citizens committee was disappointed. It wrote to the Council:

"We can only hope that the Council's action does not signal its withdrawal from this controversy. We recognize that should the industry fail to exact responsible journalism from its members, responsibility could be imposed by forces, including government, less concerned with protecting freedom of the press than with curing the abuse."

That was a sharp point—and one that the Council seemed to be avoiding in its original statement denouncing McGoff. That statement said the Council had elected not to involve itself "with the accuracy, fairness or responsibility of the two articles" or with the departure of Rood or Skuggen. Rather, it said, the basic issue was the relationship of chain ownership to news control.

The Council reset the hearing date for Oct. 19. It was not clear whether McGoff would show up.

Rusher got the point too. In his dissent he said: "If newspaper publishers are to be held responsible for the contents of their publications—and they most certainly are and ought to be—then I do not see how we can deny a publisher the right to determine, in the last analysis, what the contents shall be."

It is difficult to fault Rusher's strict-

constructionist interpretation of the First Amendment, however much one abhors McGoff's policy. But there is much that can be done, as the sensible citizens of Marquette and Escanaba have demonstrated: If Neanderthals like McGoff go around buying up newspapers and turning them into toad stools, boycott the hell out of them, force them to sell back to local ownership, and throw your weight behind Udall and anyone else in the Congressional wasteland who has guts enough to buck the media lobby and enforce the anti-trust laws. These laws apply to newspapers as well as other industries; the First Amendment does not sanction this kind of avarice. And before the fact, insist that a local owner who plans to sell a newspaper offer it first to a local buyer.

There's a charming footnote to this story. Remember George Bernard, the author of the two questionable articles? Well, he came out from under his rock this summer in a new slither. His name was attached to an offer to sell to newspapers the tapes of the alleged conversations "Son of Sam" had with his lawyer right after his arrest in the New York murders.

A reliable newspaper source has informed me that Bernard has been fired by Panax. I suppose even a man like McGoff sometimes has to open a window to get the smell out.

James Aronson, a regular contributor to *ITT*, is a professor of journalism at Hunter College. A founder with Cedric Belfrage of the *National Guardian*, he reports that Columbia University Press has accepted for publication a history of that newspaper that he wrote with Belfrage.

Speaking to the Coalition of Labor Union Women, George Meany called himself a "closet feminist." The National Women's Political Caucus staged a performance of *Chorus Line* with a loan from AFL-CIO's Building Trades Dept. Now has endorsed labor law reform.

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Bye-Bye by Mermelstein

By David Mermelstein

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55						56			57	58		
59						60			61			
62						63			64			

Across:

1	Former Washington official	37	Boston's nickname
6	Bridge feature	38	Suffix for militant
10	Woody by Zeus as swan	39	Political org. headed by Harrington
14	Pertaining to birds	41	_____ and caboodle
15	South American country	42	Italian sauce, for veal or seafood
16	Grandparental	45	Attention getter
17	Double pledge of this by 1 Across	47	Home, for 1 Across
19	First name of 1 Across	48	Alternative to work
20	Ram's partner	49	First name of lawyer of 1 Across
21	Hit the _____	50	Scrooge's words
22	Bruce _____, star of Smile and Black September	51	Wing-like
23	Loans at exorbitant interest rates	52	Adjectival suffix
25	Merely	55	Indifferent
26	1 Across _____ (recent headline)	56	These proved troublesome for 1 Across
29	PhD exam	59	Aleutian island
30	Anti-gay woman, et al.	60	Pierre's father
31	Afternoons	61	Hungry
32	Potential amendment, et al.	62	Comparative conjunction
36	Ex-tyrant of Cambodia	63	Noah's boats
		64	Poet Alfred _____

Down:

1	Part of a shoe
2	Declare frankly
3	Pyramid's river
4	South of Ore.
5	Last queen of Spain
6	Opera props
7	Urged ouster of 1 Across
8	Middle East spirituous liquor
9	Zero: Var.
10	Wife of 1 Across
11	_____ which way
12	fix socks
13	Hit
18	Chinese length measures
22	Hereditary unit
23	Out, in Utrecht
24	Committee that held hearings on 1 Across: Abbr.
25	Counterparts of eithers
26	<i>Atlas Shrugged</i> author
27	Cardinal's Slaughter
28	Farm building
29	Office of 1 Across
31	Call's opposite
33	Call
34	Spore sacs
35	Portico
37	"...Yorick, I knew _____."
40	_____ First National Bank (of 1 Across)
41	Lock's adjunct
42	Charles _____, Historian
43	Suffix for some students
44	South of Mo.
46	Possesses
47	Shines dazzlingly
48	Italian food
49	Office worker
50	Two together
51	Declare positively
52	Kind of question
53	To _____ (perfect)
54	Drugs
55	College entrance exam: Abbr.
56	War-time agency: Abbr.
57	Stocking mishap
58	Prefix meaning up

Jobs that kill

Continued from page 7.

health and safety problems affecting women.

Conference participants pointed out that women faced a variety of particular occupational health and safety problems, including special protective attitudes, threats to childbearing, tools and workloads designed for the male body, and the frequent refusal of male workers to be "bothered" by dangers.

There has, however, been an upsurge of interest among women workers about safety issues in recent years.

One rallying point was the 1976 publication of *Working for Your Life: A Woman's Guide to Job Health Hazards*. Written by Andrea Hricko and Melanie Blunt, this book contains a wealth of information, presented in a forthright and simple fashion, including demystified medical information on how much researchers know and don't know, discussions of particular dangers in areas where large numbers of women are employed—clerical, textile, electronics, hospitals, hairdressers and cleaners—and possible methods of organizing around occupational problems.

(*Working for Your Life* is available from Andrea Hricko, Labor Occupational Health Program, University of California, 2521 Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94720.)

Another source, frequently mentioned at the CACOSH gathering, was Jeanne

Stellman and Susan Daum's *Work Is Dangerous to Your Health* (Vintage).

The CACOSH conference was structured to allow working women to focus on real and potential hazards in their particular work situations.

Liz McPike, former Illinois director of AFSCME, soon to join the staff of Women Employed, the Chicago-based clerical workers' organization, spoke of health and safety issues in clerical work. "People believe clericals go to work under cushy conditions," she said. "The truth is that this work often results in the loss of sight or hearing; in chronic back stress, depression and the intake of unstudied chemicals."

In the "Industrial Speakout" women told stories of ash and radiation burns, excessive noise and heat, headaches and backaches, smashed limbs and occasionally even death resulting from a lack of concern in their plants for safety issues.

Women auto, steel and electrical workers, telephone operators, nurses, lab technicians, clerical workers, teachers and others talked of innumerable safety problems. Some came as representatives of their union local or of their plant's safety committee; many came from shops where there were no unions or safety committees.

Resource people at the specialized workshops and plenary speakers again and again emphasized the positive value of questioning, resisting ridicule from supervisors or fellow workers, and collecting data in the search for health hazards on the job. They suggested that women activists choose those safety issues that threatened the most people, educate their co-workers about the dangers, and then decide on a collective course of action. A logical first action, it was suggested, would be to exercise the infrequently-publicized right of any worker to call for an

OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) inspection of their workplace—anonously, if desired.

With a membership of over 30 Chicago union locals, CACOSH was formed out of a need to better represent and advocate the needs of workers in the field of occu-

pational health and safety. Such groups are springing up all over the country and some of their focus will be on the particular problems of women.

"Industry and capitalism," as one conference participant remarked, "have spawned yet another wide open new field."

Labour party conference

Continued from page 10.

ing shipyards. Considering the state of the Polish economy, this news caused a delegate to remark to me (recalling the old working-class maxim): "It's the poor that helps the poor."

Then, a major multinational—no less than Ford Motors—has decided to build a large plant in Britain, in preference to bids from several other European countries. This was something of a personal success for Callaghan. He personally negotiated the deal with Henry Ford, and the plant is to be in South Wales, not far from the district which Callaghan represents in Parliament.

However, unions at Ford's British plants are at present demanding a 15 percent raise. The Government has set its face sternly against raises of more than 10 percent, and has recently taken tough action to punish an engineering company in Belfast that had conceded greater increases. People are asking: does the Government propose to punish Ford similarly if management agrees to the union demands? And what will happen then to the new plant?

Benn in spotlight.

Still, the evident divergence of views between rank-and-filers and the government was carefully contained within the bounds of critical speeches with the heavy votes

of the major unions available to defeat any leftwing resolutions that the government found unacceptable.

On the personal level, two events are worth noting. Foreign Secretary David Owen presented himself for the first time as a candidate for the party executive. He didn't expect to gain a seat, but he did surprisingly well for a first try, considering that his appeal has never been to the left of the party because of his enthusiasm for EEC membership. His forceful line on Rhodesia, no doubt, has raised his popularity.

Tony Benn moved into the spotlight by taking top place among the seven successful candidates for the executive. He was the speaker at a meeting outside the main conference hall that developed into a gathering of the Benn fan club. The chairman, a parliamentary candidate, began by saying that, as an MP (hopefully) in the next Parliament, he looks forward to "sharing in the privilege of electing Tony Benn as the next leader of our party." The hall rocked with applause. It's the earliest opening to a nominating campaign (Callaghan, though aged 67, has given no hint of retirement) that any of us can remember. Honestly, as someone said, one might be in America.

Mervyn Jones writes for the *New Statesman*.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

HEALTH CARE

Whether you want him or not

By Patrick Owens

Roman Bown, as I shall call him, was struck in his late 40s by multiple sclerosis, a disease of the brain and central nervous system that commonly reduces its victims to inert atrophy over some two decades of pain and suffering.

MS patients, as they are called, vary greatly in their response to their affliction. Bown's response, which was not unusual, was to become increasingly childlike. He laughed easily and cried a lot. Unable to postpone gratification, like many children, he loudly demanded attention and threw temper tantrums. As he contemplated a future filled only with continuing deterioration, his emotional equilibrium disappeared.

Unable to work, Bown stayed at home for five years while his wife, Rita, shuttled back and forth between their apartment in Queens and her job as a secretary in a sizeable corporation. The Bowns' four children went through adolescence in this period.

The youngest, Danny, was 16 when Mrs. Bown finally threw in the sponge and took her husband to the Veterans Administration Hospital in Manhattan. She was physically exhausted, partly from helping her 190-pound, six-foot-plus husband from bed to bathroom. He had become incontinent and wet his bed consistently.

Bown was in the hospital for about nine months. He got no better but his wife recovered strength and composure. Then a social worker, Elinor N. Polansky, told her Bown would have to leave; the hospital could do no more for him and could use his bed. He must return home or go to a nursing home.

Mrs. Bown recoiled at both suggestions. The nursing home meant that the few thousand dollars the family still retained in assets would swiftly be expended. The other choice, caring for Bown at home, meant that she would have to quit her job, sink onto the welfare rolls, and devote perhaps 15 years to caring for an increasingly unmanageable patient.

Mrs. Bown liked her job. Though she loved her husband she felt hopelessly inadequate as his nurse; she was already guilt-ridden because her husband's illness had drained her of time and energy for her children; she did not want to become a pauper. So she told the hospital to keep her husband.

No choice.

Polansky said that Mrs. Bown had no choice; the hospital's doctors had made their decision; Bown would be discharged whether his wife wanted him or not.

That was not, Polansky made clear, a decision with which she was in agreement. She urged Mrs. Bown to fight it.

Mrs. Bown left the hospital profoundly troubled but feeling defiant. She stuck to her refusal.

A few days later an ambulance pulled up in front of the two-family house where the Bowns lived. Attendants rang the bell. No one answered. They tried the door. It was locked. They broke a window, reached in and unlocked the door, carried Bown inside, deposited him on a bed, and left.

He stayed four months. Mrs. Bown did not quit her job nor did she invest her limited savings in nursing-home care. She hurried frantically between office and house. She appealed to politicians for help in her crisis.

After the four months, Bown was readmitted to the hospital without controversy. He had become actively psychotic and was much more debilitated physically.

Not every woman who finds herself nursing a helpless relative has suffered



Ken Firestone

does not seem that way to Polansky.

Help needed.

She is angered that women involved in the care of the disabled must soldier on with limited expertise and despite their personal preferences, or be cast as shirkers and poor examples of womanhood.

"Most of the women I dealt with at the VA wanted to nurse their relatives at home," she says. "But they needed help. They needed backup services, child care, transportation for the patient's visits to clinics and hospitals. They needed supportive counseling to help them adjust to their new role. They needed legal assistance in dealing with Medicaid, insurance companies and so forth. They needed to be able to ask the doctors about their husband's conditions, but doctors were often suspicious and treated the concerns of wives as nuisances, or implied that the wives were trying to shirk their responsibilities."

Polansky's views on these matters are radical. She believes women who choose to care for their loved ones at home should be paid for their work, that nursing homes should be nationalized and that Medicaid eligibility rules should be liberalized so that a spouse does not have to choose between medical support for her husband and financial self-sufficiency for herself.

She also contends that visiting nurses, homemakers and transportation services should be routinely available to the chronically disabled.

She is talking about a lot of money. But this money would buy services that are now routinely, if often resentfully, provided by women who would, given free choice, make other uses of their lives.

Refusing the burden.

And, regardless of what judgment anyone may have on women who resent the role of full-time caretaker, these women are actually volunteers who can, if they choose, walk away from their demanding responsibilities or seek to lodge them elsewhere. One woman, whom Polansky calls Mrs. Lewis, turned the tables on the VA in dramatic fashion. As Polansky recalls it:

"Mr. Lewis, aged 49, had a brain tumor removed in the hospital and was taken home by his wife. Mrs. Lewis willingly quit her job to take care of her husband. She received his sick pay but she could not afford home visits by professionals.

"Mr. Lewis' condition became worse. He became incontinent, lost his sense of balance and became unable to speak clearly. Mrs. Lewis asked the hospital to readmit her husband. They refused. A nursing home would have cost the family between \$1,500 and \$2,000 a month.

"The children were young and the prospect of turning over all the family's assets was terrifying to Mrs. Lewis... [Finally] she brought him to the hospital and left him in the emergency room, forcing the hospital to readmit him."

It's possible to conjure up scenarios in which over-crowded public hospitals and fed-up wives bounce bedridden husbands back and forth like shuttlecocks.

Such refusals may seem outrageous now. But the real outrage surely lies in the bland assumption that any and all women owe a higher duty to an incapacitated relative than they do to themselves or, in many cases, to their children.

Ultimately, society will have to take a look at a medical system that has made it possible for more and more people to live longer and longer in various states of helplessness—and that has made almost no provision for their care.

Patrick Owens is a writer and columnist for *Newsday*.

At least 1.8 million chronically disabled people are confined to their homes in the U.S. The greatest burden of their care is given, free of charge, by women.

so dramatically. But many have. And, whether dramatic or not, hundreds of thousands of women are now full-time attendants of family members or close friends who are chronically disabled. Miracle drugs and other medical advances since WWII increase this number constantly and dramatically.

Free care given by women.

Polansky left the VA in a great row over cases like the Bowns. She simply refused to dump patients on wives and other relatives. She is now a psychotherapist in New York City and a teacher at the School of Social Welfare of the State University of New York at Stony Brook on Long Island.

But Polansky is still a crusader for freedom of choice for women faced with Mrs. Bown's problems. If anything, Polansky is more radical about the problems of such women than she used to be.

At least 1.8 million chronically disabled people are now confined to their homes in the U.S. No one knows how many of these are receiving the full-time

attention of family members and how many are suffering in virtual solitude, receiving only an occasional visit from a landlady or relative. One survey Polansky cites indicates that fewer than 15 percent of the chronically disabled who are discharged from hospitals go into settings where they receive consistent professional health care.

Polansky argues that the great bulk of care received by sick people in this society is given, free of charge, by women. These women are usually members of the family of the afflicted. Throughout history, they have abandoned their own preoccupations to nurse and nurture the men, children and other women with whom they have blood or marriage ties.

In a world of sexual equity, Polansky argues, women should have to be paid when they tend the sick in their families. Furthermore, women should have the option of continuing their own careers and other pursuits—just as men have always done—while the sick are given professional care.

All this sounds visionary, distant and, at least to many males, subversive. It

SPORTS

The unrepentent joy of baseball

By Marc Gunther

There are those who say the American baseball fan today is a beleaguered citizen. He may even be oppressed. Just listen to Peter Gruenstein, an attorney, associate of Ralph Nader and former Dodger rooter who is now forming a national fan organization called Fight to Advance the Nation's Sports (FANS).

"Sports fans comprise the largest, the most unrepresented and the most abused segment of our population," Gruenstein says. "Outside of voting in the baseball all-star game, I don't know of any other time when the average fan is ever consulted or asked his opinion."

Nader himself says there's a "massive ripoff" going on in sports, and characterizes fans as powerless consumers. A fan organization, Gruenstein says, could begin to pressure owners and government agencies such as the Congress and the Federal Trade Commission to control rising ticket prices and shifting franchises. One article on the organization even complains about the nutritional value of the ballpark frank.

Then there's the typical radical analysis of the sports establishment, which goes beyond Nader's critique to declare that sports are Big Capital. The sports industry reflects competitive capitalism's racism and sexism, drives exploited players to unionize, dulls the minds and saps the energies of passive spectators. Working people, says radical critic Paul Hoch, "are being asked to identify with every team but the real team, the only team in the contest that can really make a difference—workers versus capitalists."

Such assertions, though somewhat exaggerated, are largely true. Fans are relatively powerless, and professional sports are often needlessly violent and competitive. As participants and fans, men have derived pleasure from the exclusion of women from sports. Television's need to make sports entertaining, blatant commercialism, artificial turf, the designated hitter, etc., may be destroying our games.

Unrepentent fans.

Yet many of us—capitalists and workers, Naderites and socialists—remain unrepentant fans. This year more people than ever before will attend major league baseball games and hundreds of millions will watch on television. Most will "participate" in some way: we will literally jump for joy when our teams win and despair when they lose.

Critics need to think about why we remain fans and how we watch the game, at the park or on television—that is, to treat baseball as culture rather than industry. This approach may tell us more about two worlds—the world inside and the world outside the stadium—than an economic analysis of the sport.

This summer Phil Rizzuto was telecasting a New York Yankee game when a TV camera crew getting into position for a certain shot appeared on the screen. The "cameraman" turned out to be a woman, and there was a confused and embarrassed moment before his broadcast partner, Frank Messer, suggested gently that she be designated a "cameraperson." "Oh yeah," said Phil, brightening. "That's that women's lib they got out there."

Out There. Sixty-year-old Phil Rizzuto, still called The Scooter, has since his teenage days earned his living as a player and broadcaster. In Here, where political trends and natural catastrophes usually go unremarked. Only the events from Out There deemed upbeat and noncontroversial—a space walk or bicentennial sail—are permitted In Here. The fans wouldn't have it any other way.

This is one of the strongest appeals of baseball, and of all games. It is admittedly an escapist one; fans seek refuge in the ballpark, and this offends some social reformers out there.

The world of baseball, they say, is adolescent, trivial and, worst of all, useless.



UPI

The world of baseball is one where excellence is rewarded and fairness the rule...a world of surprise and beauty.

But the world of baseball is also one where excellence is generally rewarded and fairness the rule. It is a world of courage and surprise and occasional beauty.

A clash of worlds.

Sometimes the two worlds clash, and the results are troubling. New York Mets president M. Donald Grant, a stockbroker, feuds over money with Tom Seaver and soon afterwards the brilliant pitcher's stay in the city ends. Considerations external to the game have won, making this much more difficult for us than an ordinary trade, and that hard, rising fastball no longer belongs to New York.

As much as any other pitcher today, Seaver's *modus operandi* when he is in a jam is to reach back and fire the old apple as hard as he can. This is called "challenging the hitter"—pitting your best against his—and it is courageous, dangerous and much marveled at by fans.

And so with other players too: Mark Fidrych's antics and Reggie Jackson's swagger may entertain us for a while but, finally, they must perform. Bobby Brown's degree in medicine is as irrelevant as Yogi Berra's reputed reading deficiencies, and no slugger's family ties ever helped hit a home run. This is how it should be, and how it is in the world in here.

The sense of apartness from the outside world seems strongest in baseball, that rural game played in our cities. It is more satisfying to watch the game in Fenway Park or Yankee Stadium, grass green oases in urban neighborhoods, than in suburban coliseums surrounded by parking lots. The anticipation can be unbearable on the city streets outside the park before the game begins.

Once inside the ballpark time moves differently. The clocks we watch all day at work, where time is money, and the clocks that control football and basketball are absent. No other spectator sport is played on weekday afternoons, when most of the world is working.

Absorbing us, the game moves at its own peculiarly measured pace, and as fans we sense this. Witness the responses

to a recent article in the *New York Times* that called the game boring and recommended that it be speeded up.

"What the author misidentifies as the defects of baseball are the very virtues of the game," one fan wrote. "It defies the frenetic pace of the age." Another said that "demands for action, action, action are only too typical of our impatient society."

A link to the past.

Roger Angell talks about time in *The Summer Game* and suggests that baseball's rhythms link us to the past. "This is the way the game was played in our youth and in our fathers' youth and even back then—back in the country days—there must have been the same feeling that time could be stopped," he says.

Old Timers Day at the ballpark—an institution unique to baseball—celebrates the game's history, a communal past that has been experienced and can be shared by fans. Baseball's history is written in a special language, and recorded in a special mathematics. It is taught by fathers and older brothers and friends. Through it, we may become closer to one another, almost as if we have joined an enormous family.

"I have always been surprised at how angry some of my friends get when they announce that they don't like baseball—the ones who insist that it is boring and empty-headed," says Angell. "They criticize it with such venom that it sometimes occurs to me that they feel left out.... excluded from something in which membership is a privilege and a source of joy."

The ballpark, of course, is open to all comers, and there is a kind of healthy democracy inside. Fans talk to one another without an introduction, and give little heed to race or class. They are opinionated and knowledgeable about baseball and those with advanced degrees have no particular insight into a squeeze play or the double steal with runners at the corners.

Detached and objective observation is little valued in the fan's world. Admired is the diehard who roots and is rooted to the successes and failures of the team.

No value-free science in here: he will argue until red (or blue) in the face that Carlton Fisk is a better catcher than Thurman Munson—despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Caring deeply and passionately.

In some way these experiences become part of our personal histories, our roots. Yankee fans in Boston are like brothers, Dodger fans in New York despair: how to get the late scores from the coast. This is foolish and childish, some say, to tie oneself to anything so insignificant as a baseball team. But listen to Angell:

"What is left out of this calculation, it seems to me, is the business of caring—caring deeply and passionately, really caring—which is a capacity or emotion that has almost gone out of our lives. And so it seems possible that we have come to a time when it no longer matters what the caring is about, how frail or foolish is the object of that concern, as long as the feeling itself can be saved."

And so our team has won or lost, and we leave the stadium to reenter the world out there. What have we learned? Have our desires been stimulated by the courage and fairness and passion within or are we sated? Do we miss the community of fans or have we had enough?

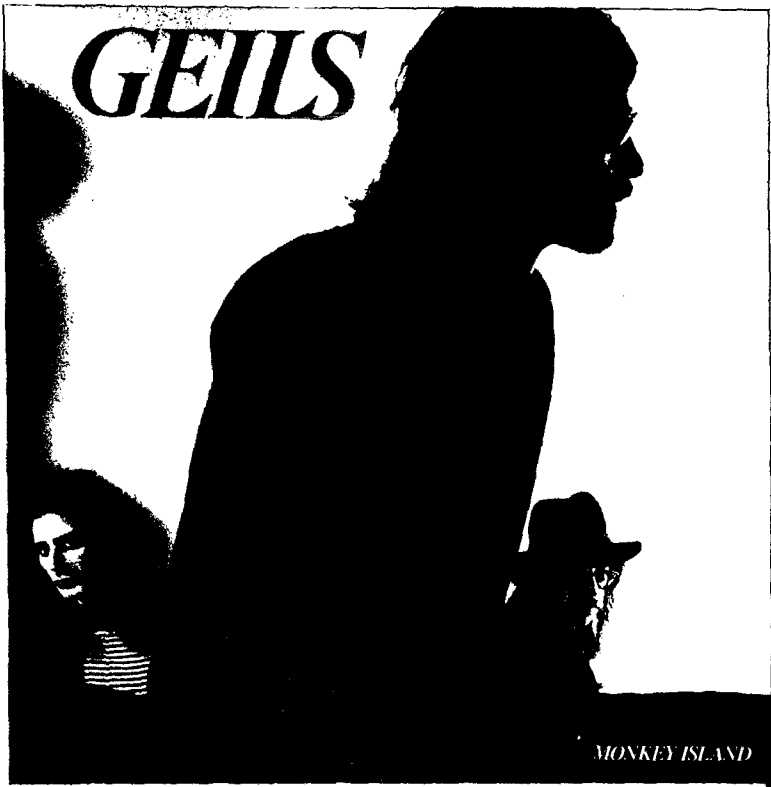
The answers to these questions are complex and worthy of further thought, and that is itself a partial answer. There is no simple transfer of the values learned in here to the world out there. And, the values themselves are far from simple.

Those who have assumed that sports do nothing more than stamp working people with capitalist values reveal only their own patronizing ways. Sometimes, in fact, the racism and sexism of sport that outrages radicals outrages fans too, maybe even as much as rising ticket prices. But that depends on what we bring to the ball park.

Marc Gunther is a newspaper reporter and New York Yankee fan in Hartford, Ct. This article owes an obvious debt to the work of Roger Angell, and Warren Goldstein should be credited with an assist.

ART <> ENTERTAINMENT

Records



Last month the Grateful Dead drew 110,000 (or 150,000, if you take their figures) at a concert in the New York (New Jersey) area. Seems they ain't dead.

MONKEY ISLAND
Geils, Atlantic

J.T.
James Taylor, Columbia

TERRAPIN STATION
The Grateful Dead, Arista

The J. Geils Blues Band has a new name and a new lease on life. *Monkey Island* is the best album this sextet from Boston has ever made. It shows that Geils may not only be the best blues band in America, but surpasses with this album the product the Rolling Stones have been putting out for the last few years.

An exaggeration? Well, this album is something special; no retreads here. There's a song that has the impact of a Raymond Chandler novel—"Somebody, Somewhere." The title tune, a sexy Latin jump with a Gothic story line, marries the apocalypse to cheap Hollywood gore effects.

The minor tunes like "I Do" are marvelous doo-wop. And in "Wreckage" Geils has come up with a song as moving and chilling as the Stones' "Gimme Shelter."

The band—lead singer, Peter Wolf; lead guitarist, J. Geils; Magic Dick on harp; Seth Justman on keyboard; bassist, Danny Klein; and Stephen Jo Bladd, always one of the best rock drummers—have been practicing, getting their chops together. The break on "Somebody, Somewhere" (Magic Dick over Geils) lasts only two bars, but they're electrifying. Or listen to "I'm Falling" by Wolf and Justman, who plays majestic, spacy

keyboards throughout.

Geils have broadened their perceptions, become more personal, which allows the band to be more than a sublimation of its audience, as it used to be. Not that there's anything wrong with showmanship. But over the past few albums, that's all Geils seemed to have. And showmanship suffers without visuals.

But the members of the group seem to have looked into their collective self, found it was stronger than they had imagined and come back to tell the story. The sequel should be a killer.



Baby James grows up.

We've known for quite a while that James Taylor's in love. For a while it was with himself (during the "Sweet Baby James" period. Most recently, it's been with Carly Simon.

But now Taylor is J.T. He's shed the "Sweet Baby" moniker and his swaddling clothes, and can now voice the ambiguities of adulthood, powerfully and expressively. The music on this, his first album for Columbia, is his strongest and most open yet.

On the whole, the uptempo tunes have the most impact. "Honey, Don't Leave L.A.," by guitarist Danny Kortchmar, could be the next single, with its anger, flippancy and rock drive. "Traffic Jam," a charming snarl against the city, is a miniature version of Tom Waits' long jazz-rock raps on the wee hours of the city morning.

The centerpieces of the album are the Jimmy Jones classic, "Handy Man" and Taylor's own "Bartender Blues," sung with Linda Ronstadt. In the first Taylor connects sexually and emotionally to all women. In the second he is an observer who ends up alone, with nothing but his

skill and perception. The two songs work in counterpoint to one another. It's charming, sarcastic and chilling, all at the same time.

Taylor has never been one for surprises. He could always be counted on to soothe; at his strongest, to move. Here he moves on many levels.

In the strange rocker, "I Was Only Telling a Lie," in which his voice shifts from down Chicago blues to high L.A. pleading, he has written a fascinating and powerful update of "Steamroller."

"There We Are" is a touching testament to his marriage: tasteful, tuneful, and maybe a little tepid. In "Terra Nova, an incredibly beautiful song, resolved in harmony with his wife, they sing in unison, "I've come to stop yearning." The album moves from this to "Traffic Jam" and closes with a testament to Taylor's love and shyness, "If I Keep My Heart Out of Sight."

J.T. is tipping his hand here, and he plays a hell of a rich, appealingly modest game.



Dead on Arista label.

Maybe the Dead family was getting a little strung out. (Enough of this commune crap, splinter groups, cult status). So they called Clive Davis, head of Arista, who called Keith Olsen, who engineered the first of Fleetwood Mac's breakthrough albums (in 1976), and Keith agreed to produce *Terrapin Station*—a strange pastiche of the old '60s Dead meanderings and some new, slick studio techniques.

The result is one side of single-length tunes; the other side, a long piece called "Terrapin Station"—a group effort that is quite pretty and ultimately incohesive. Complete with orchestral background and a dizzying array of effects (synthesizers and multi-layered percussion), it has its moments, but there's nothing really distinctive about it, nothing to make it of more than academic interest.

The new album does have the sound, though: sweet, sinuous, a bit breathy, with some of the elements of passion, minus the mystery. It's laid back, seamless, pretty; very different from the Dead's previous albums.

I see the Dead going to an outside producer as a positive step. I just fear this album has no character, no power. It would be a shame if the Dead struck a deal that ended up in a trade of spontaneity for slickness.

Terrapin Station sounds like they have.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff is a free lance writer in Albany who reviews records regularly for In These Times.

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Ed Sadlowski



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FILM

Julia is the best all-round film around

JULIA

Screenplay by Alvin Sargent
Directed by Fred Zinnemann
Starring Vanessa Redgrave, Jane Fonda, Jason Robards, Hal Holbrook and Maximilian Schell

Produced and distributed by
Twentieth Century Fox

Julia is a fine film.

Made from a fine piece of autobiographical writing, played by a fine and dedicated cast, directed and produced with skill, taste and intelligence, it works on many levels, any one of which would nominate it for top honors.

On one level it is the story of a deep, abiding and demanding friendship between two women. One is Lillian Hellman, one of our best and most successful playwrights and author of three best-selling volumes of memoirs. (It is from the second of these, *Pentimento*, that the plot of the film is taken.)

The other woman is "Julia"—the neglected child and grandchild of rich, uncaring American aristocrats, who grows up to be a brilliant medical student, interning with Freud in Vienna when the Nazi putsch occurs. Julia, who has been a socialist sympathizer, fights back, is brutally beaten, becomes a member of the anti-fascist underground and in that capacity asks Hellman to undertake the smuggling of some money from France to Hitler-held Berlin, to be used by the underground to buy release for Jews and political prisoners menaced by the death camps.

The setting up and carrying out of this mission is another level of dramatic interest: a meaningful melodrama with well-orchestrated crescendos of hope and fear. It has been a long while since an American film has projected the savagery of a rising fascist movement with real emotional power. It is in part the contribution of Alvin Sargent's restrained and evocative screenplay, in part Zinnemann's brilliant handling of

(Right)
Jane Fonda and
Vanessa Redgrave as
Lillian and
Julia meet for
the last time
in a Berlin
cafe.

(Below)
Jason Robards
and Jane Fonda
as Dashiell
Hammett and
Lillian Hellman



the big action scenes, and in part the completely convincing visual projection of the time and place. (None of this is in Hellman's original sketch.)

But powerful as the melodrama is, it cannot overwhelm the story of the two women. The scene in which the money is delivered (and Lillian is out of danger) is the most moving of the film.

The two women sit at a table in a Berlin cafe, pressed by time and the possibility that they are being watched by hostile eyes, trying to compress ten years of lives lived apart into five minutes, communicating by small gestures, interrupted sentences, smiles, tears. It is the profound, though muted climax to a love story entirely new to the screen.

Virginia Wolff wrote in *A Room of One's Own* that she "tried unsuccessfully to remember any case in the course of my reading where two women are represented as friends. Almost without exception they are shown in their relation to men. And how

small a part of a woman's life is that!" Since that day nearly 50 years have passed; novelists and playwrights (some, but not all of them women) have filled in a good deal of that literary void. But films—and not only American films—have been slow to catch up.

The friendship in *Julia* is not a sidelight on the characters involved. It is a story with a beginning, a middle and a transcendent ending. It has reasons for being and reasons for non-being. That is to say, given the particular circumstances and the general cultural context, one can understand how this relationship could be shunted into a backwater, out of the main work/love currents of the women's lives.

On still another level *Julia* is the story of a writer struggling with her craft and being supported in that struggle by the man she loves and lives with. A radical switch on a fairly familiar plot line! The relationship between Dashiell Hammett and Lillian Hellman comes across as a

real marriage between two independent and mature people. And that's another first.

Jason Robards is a believable and admirable Dash Hammett. Maximilian Schell's "Mr. Johann" is reminiscent of another Hellman anti-Nazi, the hero of *Watch on the Rhine*. Remembering Paul Lucas in that part, one can measure the achievement of Vanessa Redgrave as a tragic heroine. (When has such a role been written for a woman?) Redgrave's Julia is superb.

Unfortunately Fonda's Lillian is not.

There are many scenes—sometimes whole sequences—where Fonda's grasp of the character is firm and good. (Most of these are scenes played with Redgrave.) When it is not so good, it is not entirely her fault. She seems to have been cast in the role for her political convictions. Certainly not because she bears any resemblance to Lillian Hellman.

Fonda and Hellman are both women with well-defined *personas*, that do not accommodate

to each other. Hellman's may not have been as well-publicized before her memoirs appeared, but it exists now, and it rises like an indignant ghost in several crucial sequences.

What Fonda is playing in the scenes with Mr. Johann and on the train to Berlin is something more like one of her last starring roles. Make-up and costume are also working against her here. And when her extraordinarily pretty face suddenly hardens into a version of her father's, the illusion that you are in a world teetering on the brink of holocaust is battered, if not shattered.

(One wonders if the same thing happens to British film-goers accepting one of the Redgraves as a "character," which fortunately is no problem for us.)

In the final sequences of the film, Fonda is totally effective, and the lasting impression of *Julia* is that it is a giant step forward for American film-makers, and probably the best all-round film around.

—Janet Stevenson



CLASSIFIED

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POETRY

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Robert Lowell: patrician poet and pacifist

In November 1967, while patrolling near Quang Tri, Vietnam, my squad came upon a batch of badly printed English-language leaflets, scattered by the Viet Cong. The leaflets, complete with photographs and quotes, told about the march on the Pentagon only a few weeks earlier. One of the names listed as having participated in the demonstration was Robert Lowell, the distinguished poet who died of a heart attack in New York City in September.

Nineteen years old, with five months still to serve in Vietnam and my whole world coming apart, I hated those leaflets. I hated Vietnam, and the Viet Cong and the demonstrators—including Robert Lowell. But I have learned a great deal in the last ten years, and one of the things is that Robert Lowell was a man to be respected, admired and thanked—and not just for the gift of his poetry.

One can hardly imagine a more unlikely political dissident than Lowell. Schooled at St. Marks and Harvard, tutored by Richard Eberhart, Allen Tate and John Crowe Ransom, he was the inheritor of a aristocratic Puritan tradition stretching back to the Mayflower. Edward Winslow, Josiah Winslow, General John Stark, Amy Lowell, James Russell Lowell were his ancestors: ten generations of bankers and justices, academics and generals—Yankee bluebloods.

Lowell never got out from under the shadow of that past. Indeed, it was probably too vast for any human being to escape. But he never felt fully comfortable with it, and his life was punctuated by remarkably independent actions.

Unhappy at Harvard, he transferred to Kenyon College in 1937. In 1940 he converted to Roman Catholicism. Though at the outbreak of World War II he had successfully attempted to enlist in the navy (his father had been a career naval officer), by 1943 he had come to the conclusion that Allied bombing of civilian populations in Europe was morally indefensible. Denied conscientious objector status, Lowell was convicted of failure to obey the Se-

Lowell refused LBJ's invitation to a White House dinner, wiring that he regarded "our present foreign policy with dismay and distrust." He was the only major figure to decline the invitation.

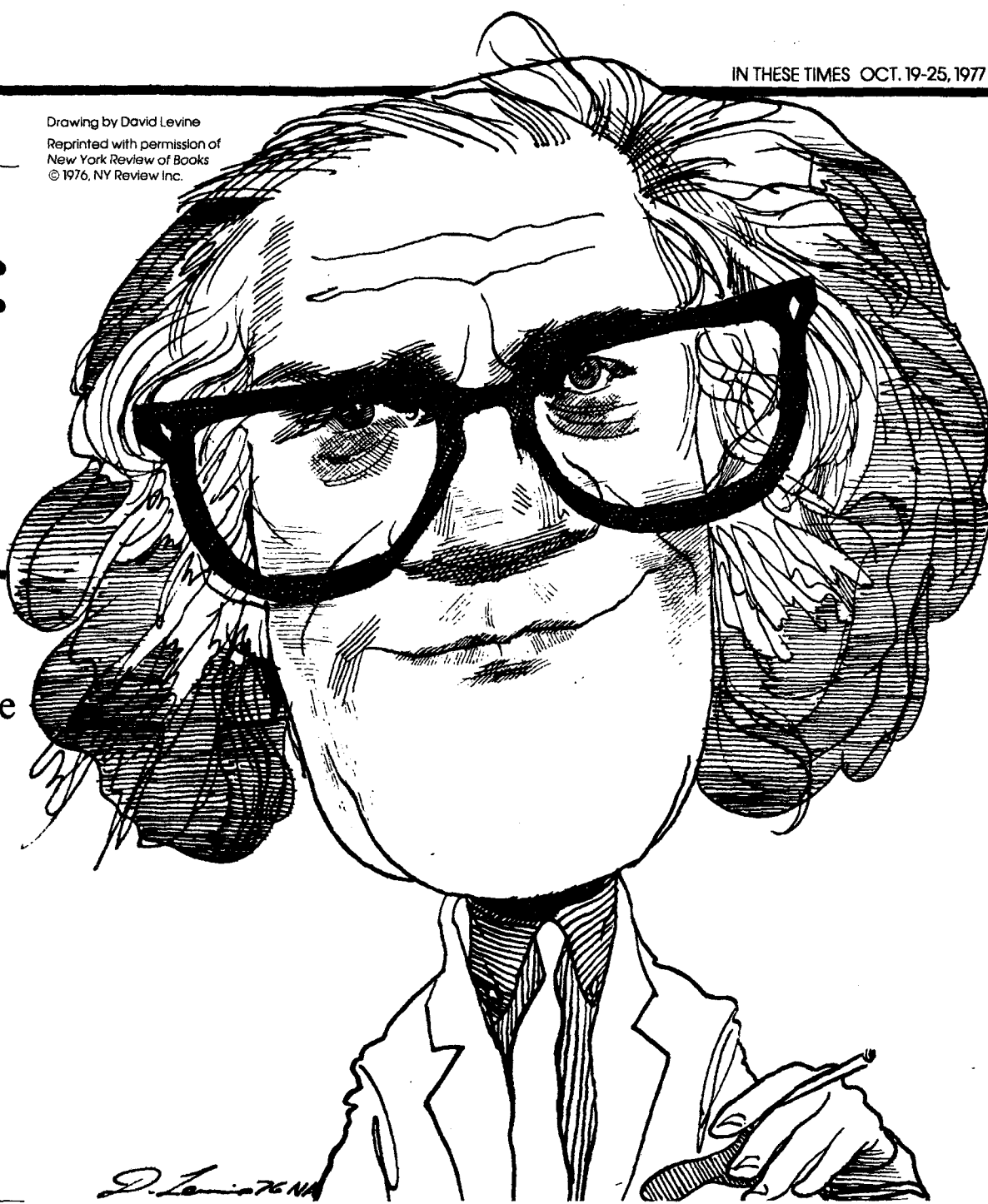
lective Service Act and served four months in Danbury federal prison.

Later in the '40s, with a growing reputation as a poet, Lowell was a member of the committee that awarded Ezra Pound the Bollingen prize. Pound was not exactly popular at the time, and the decision required more than a little courage and integrity.

In 1965 Lowell refused Lyndon Johnson's invitation to a White House dinner, wiring that he regarded "our present foreign policy with dismay and distrust." He was the only major figure to decline that invitation. That was two years before I enlisted in the Marines.

Several years later, at the Ambassador Theatre in Washington, D.C., Lowell received a standing ovation for the poetry reading he had just given to a largely student anti-war audience. Leaving the stage, "Lowell did not seem particularly triumphant," wrote Norman Mailer in *The Armies of the Night*. "He looked modest, still depressed, as if he had been applauded too much for too little."

The next day, Lowell was in the front rank of the marchers on their way to the Pentagon, matching strides with Benjamin Spock, Jerry Rubin and Dave Dellinger. Surely the staid patri-



BOOKS

The facts of (fish) life

THE ART OF FISHING WITH WORMS (And Other Live Bait)

By Harold F. Blaisdell
Alfred A. Knopf, \$10

*You may talk of gnat and hackle
When you're sortin' out your
tackle
And the plans for the excursion
are still firmin'
But when it comes to fishin'
Ye'd best leave off silly wishin'
And set about the lowly art of
wormin'*

Harold F. Blaisdell could not be expected to subscribe to such cynical sentiments. To hear him tell it in *The Art of Fishing with Worms (and Other Live Bait)*, there is nothing lowly about worming at all. It is just another method of catching fish, and one requiring its own vast measure of competence.

He is probably right about the competence. As the only downright bad fisherman in a family of virtuosos, I can testify that no aspect of the art is simple or uncomplicated: it just looks simple to those of us who couldn't fill a creel in a struck hatchery.

But I do not think Blaisdell is going to persuade many of us that worming is actually a noble calling. There is something unkindly, and maybe even inhumane, about his effort in this direction. He reminds me of all the genital technicians who seek these days to promote sex without guilt. Half the fun of worming, like two-fifths the joy of sex, is in the guilt. I'm not going to surrender all that pleasure to unadorned reason.

The reason, however, is of a very high quality.

"This book is dedicated to the proposition that the fisherman's

main objective is to catch fish. Its purpose is to help him succeed," Blaisdell writes in his very first paragraph. "It is true that many pleasant spinoffs accrue to fishing: the chance to observe nature, rapport with the outdoors, and many more. Yet when all in this vein has been said, as it has many times, none of the fringe benefits can compensate for the lack of success."

Blaisdell, who lives in a small hamlet north of Rutland, Vermont, and has been writing about fishing since before the Second War, is reverent to the point of superstition concerning the sensibilities of fish. He contends that worms, and all other bait, must be presented as naturally as possible, so that fish will not suspect that the bait is on a hook. I do not believe this myself; it flies in the face of what science has discovered about fish. But it is a fact that the people who share Blaisdell's reverence catch more fish by far than those who consult the latest scientific opinions regarding the fish's brain pan.

I was somewhat surprised to discover that there is less to worm fishing technique than I had expected. Blaisdell offers a new trick or two, and is wonderfully persuasive on the joys of bait fishing with ultra-light tackle. But mostly his book stresses the familiar essentials, repeating them and spinning tales around them for emphasis.

The art is all, I gather, in the execution. Which is reason enough to go back to the brook for another seance.

—Patrick Owens

Owens is a regular columnist for *Newsday*.

Concord

TEN THOUSAND Fords are idle here in search Of a tradition. Over these dry sticks—
The Minute Man, the Irish Catholics,
The ruined bridge and Walden's fished-out perch—
The belfry of the Unitarian Church
Rings out the hanging Jesus. Crucifix,
How can your whited spindling arms transfix
Mammon's unbridled industry, the lurch
For forms to harness Heraclitus' stream!
This Church is Concord—Concord where Thoreau
Named all the birds without a gun to probe
Through darkness to the painted man and bow:
The death-dance of King Philip and his scream
Whose echo girdled this imperfect globe.

From *Lord Weary's Castle*, copyright 1946 by Robert Lowell.
Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Inc.

cian must have felt awkward in such company, alien even. But he was there.

None of this is to say that Lowell was a flaming radical, for certainly that was not the case. Not long before Lowell died, Louis Simpson, writing for the *Saturday Review*, correctly said of him that his "life has been much too sheltered. He has kept the best company, he has made his political protests under the best possible conditions.... He can have very little understanding of the kind of people who make up the mass—the poor and unlucky and obscure."

But to a sadly marked degree, most of us are the products of where we have come from. Within the terribly confining limits of his heritage, Lowell did what he could and at times when too few others were doing anything at all.

A few days after Lowell's death, I got a letter from Jan Barry, one of the founders of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. "Lowell I will always remember," he wrote, "not for a particular poem, but for quietly being there at so many peace demonstrations." Peace—

*After the planes unloaded, we
fell down
Buried together, unmarried men
and women;
Not crown of thorns, not iron,
not Lombard crown,
Not griled and spindling spires
pointing to heaven
Could save us. Raise us, Mother,
we fell down
Here hugger-mugger in the
jelled fire.*

("The Dead in Europe")
Most people will remember Robert Lowell for his poetry. But though I have come to admire his poems very much, I will remember Robert Lowell because, on a day when I hated him, he was trying to save my life.

—W.D. Ehrhart

W.D. Ehrhart is co-editor of *Demilitarized Zones*, an anthology of anti-war poetry by Vietnam veterans, and author of two books of poetry, *A Generation of Peace* and *Rootless*.

My Tennis Partner Was an AGENT!



I knew Connie as a quiet, soft-spoken person...

By Jeff Cohen
I first met Connie Milazzo in the summer of 1975. We were both members of the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms (CDF), a Los Angeles-based group dedicated to "mobilizing against the developing police state." We both professed a disgust for police spies and infiltrators. We both expressed contempt for a system whose response to economic recession was always more cops, and never more jobs.

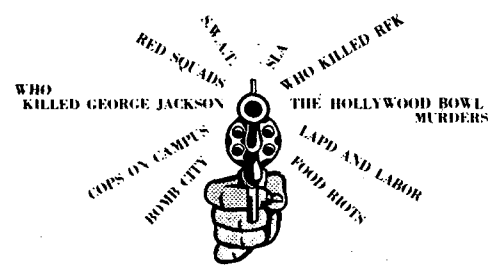
But there was a major difference between us: Connie was a member of another organization on the side—the Los Angeles Police Department.

It came as a mild shock, paging through the *Los Angeles Times* last month and noticing a tiny article, "Suspect Cleared—She's Policewoman."

Connie had been arrested with 19 others at a demonstration that turned into a brawl. The story said that she had infiltrated the Progressive Labor party, which had called the rally to demand unconditional amnesty for undocumented workers. Rioting charges were dropped against Connie and she is expected to testify against the others.

From our work together in CDF, I remember Connie as a quiet, soft-spoken and good-natured woman. She was an excellent listener. Connie always knew what was going on in the organization, but did not ask too many questions—of the group

LAPD THE TRUTH ABOUT THE NEW CENTURIONS



A CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS CONFERENCE
10 AM to 10 PM — Saturday, August 16, 1975

PLACE: CARPENTERS UNION HALL
2200 WEST 7th ST., LOS ANGELES, CA.

TELEPHONE:

Connie designed CDF's most provocative leaflet, advertising a one-day conference on police abuses. At another meeting she gave a talk on the trigger-happiness of police during the '65 Watts rebellion.

or of individuals. She was not a leader and did not try to be. But she did make her contributions.

Because she had an artistic bent, Connie often assumed responsibility for the leaflets advertising our teach-ins and conferences.

Our most provocative leaflet advertised a one-day conference on the LAPD. It was Connie's work. Below the boldface heading, "LAPD: The Truth About the New Centurions," the reader stares down the barrel of a revolver, while relevant phrases radiate from the gun like spokes: "Red Squad," "Cops on Campus," "The Hollywood Bowl Murders," "SWAT."

It must be remembered that the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms was a legal, civil liberties organization. The group was established to expose police state practices of the LAPD, as well as the alphabet soup of federal offenders—FBI, CIA, NSA, DEA, IRS, etc.

The group existed for about ten months in 1975. Its activities consisted of several teach-ins, appearances on local talk shows, a couple non-violent marches and petitioning before the Police Commission.

I would love to hear the LAPD's justification for using tax money to infiltrate and spy on such a group.

Invasion of privacy.

Members of CDF are discussing the possibility of suing Connie and the LAPD for invasion of privacy.

One of Connie's main projects was the assembly of a darkroom at CDF head-

quarters. She took pictures at many CDF functions. Where are the photos now, in the "subversive" files of the LAPD? Have these photos been shared with the FBI?

I certainly feel that my privacy has been invaded. After a friendly tennis match this summer, I blabbed to Connie about some of my disagreements and dissatisfactions with a couple of my political co-workers. I had no intention of seeing this information end up in a police file.

Since it is next to impossible to keep police spies out of such an open, broad-based organization as CDF, the best policy is to make sure each member carries his/her workload. Connie certainly did her share of work. At one teach-in, she addressed the throngs on the trigger-happiness of the LAPD during the 1965 Watts rebellion.

Connie did not confine her "political" activities to L.A. In the summer of 1975 the CDF set up a sister organization in the San Francisco Bay Area, and a major conference was held in Oakland in November. Camera in hand, Connie attended the conference. As an L.A. police employee, wasn't she venturing beyond her jurisdiction?

Circulate on the left.

After CDF folded, Connie began to circulate around the left in Los Angeles. She was more confident now that she could use her association with CDF as a calling card when meeting other activists or groups.

She attended meetings of the Democratic Socialists Organizing Committee, the L.A. Women's Union and the *L.A. Vanguard* newspaper. She attended classes at the socialist school run by the New American Movement. She was generous enough to contribute one month's dues to the National Lawyer's Guild. She was working with the Progressive Labor party at the time of her "bust."

Had we been more alert to certain contradictions in Connie's talk about herself, we might have been able to expose her in 1975.

The CDF member who was closest to Connie once asked her how she could keep up with her rent payments, car repairs and law school tuition when she wasn't working. Connie replied that she was receiving financial aid from a rich uncle, whom Connie strongly suspected of being connected to the Mafia. As it turned out, Connie did have a rich uncle, but it was the LAPD, not the Mafia.

A few questions for Connie.

I hope one day to bump into Connie for a friendly chat. (She has temporarily disappeared. Two days before the *Times* reported that her cover had been blown she packed up her belongings and moved, telling her landlord that she was getting married and that her fiancé was taking a job "up north.") There are so many questions I'd like to ask her, like: What does she think she accomplished by spying on groups like CDF? Does she really consider us a threat to "freedom" or the "free society?"

I think Connie would have trouble answering these questions. She strikes me as a liberal-type person who must have been internally torn by the realization that leftists don't have horns on their heads, or bombs under their arms.

I'd also like to ask Connie about her present employer. How does she feel about her boss, Chief Davis, who is proud to address a Birch Society banquet, but is afraid that his men will be contaminated by "germs" if forced to work with gays? What about an organization that can kill 30 unarmed citizens a year, and then lambast KABC-TV for raising the issue? How can she condone the LAPD's spying on such dangerous groups as the Beverly Hills Democratic Club?

Ultimately, I'd want to ask Connie whether she feels that activists on the left represent a bigger threat to "free society" than the ever-growing rightwing, anti-democratic elements in the LAPD, whose only response to criticism is to surveil its critics.

Jeff Cohen is an L.A. writer and activist.